



FOVRE BOOKES of Offices:

ENABLING PRIVAT
persons for the speciall seruice of
all good Princes and Policies.

Made and deuised by BARNABE BARNES.



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TO THE MOST HIGH
AND MIGHTIE LORD, *IAMES*

by the grace of God King of great *Bri-
taine, France, and Ireland*, Defender
of the Faith, &c.

And in him, *Barnabe Barnes* (the most humble
and loyall Subiect of his Maiestie) wisheth the very
perfection of all spirituall and temporall felicitie.

Blessed Soueraigne.



Iust King (which like a single eye fixt in the
righteous scepter of God, and by diuine ordi-
nation sent as a bright Angell of his worship to
gouerne amongst the children of men) is hye-
roglyphically represented by figure of the sun.
For as a vertue which vertueth other inferiour
Starres, it holdeth the golden bridles of the day: whose seate is
therefore by preheminance esteemed most noble, because as a
iust Iudge placed in the middest, it equally distributeth light to
those other Planets, giuing grace to Saturnes grauitie, might to Iu-
peters maiestie, fortitude to the force of Mars, beneuolence to the
beautie of Venus, pith to the persuation of Mercurie, with con-
stancie to the Moones mutabilitie by the royall gouernment of
his equall power and diuine sapience, which moderateth all vn-
stayed perturbations of his people, as the Moone doth (by noble
influence from it) restraine all turbulent and outragious billowes

To the Kings

of the violent seas, being through domination of this seventh sphere so metaphysically kept within their bounds, that they cannot transgresse nor vsurpe vpon earth. The Sunnes Chariot also (representing the iudgement seate of imperiall authoritie) drawne by foure horses figuring the foure columnes of royall maiestie, deciphered in these insuing offices, leadeth him through the Zodiack of the twelue Morall vertues; in and through which hee raigneth and gouerneth vpon earth in comfort, peace, and plentie, blessing the foure mightiest Princes of this world with the light of his countenance: as in ministring fire to Vulcanus, ~~to~~ Pallas the gray morning and balmy verdure of Ayre, which repurifieth her vnderstanding with knowledge; to the great towering Goddesse Ops that motherly fruitfulnessse, which crowneth Ceres, Bacchus, Minerua, Pales, with corne, wine, oyle, and milke; lastly, to Neptune and Thetis, that infinite seed ingendred and multiplied of them in the waters: so that those foresaid Elements (out of whose vertues all creatures liuing & vegetant are by diuine ordinance composed) receiue life, and influence from the Sunne. This kingly Planet likewise holdeth dominion ouer the torments of hell; which should seem to be made out of the excesse and poison of those foure Elements; as is euident by those angels which fell from the three hierarchies for their sins in pride, disobedience, sloath, wrath, enuie, lecherie, and gluttonie: for by the diuine musicke of Orpheus, these furies and torments were appeased, so that hee brought thence his wife Euridice. For Phœbus is by the philosophicall Poets mythologically called, the God and Patron of Musicke, Prophecies, and Chyrurgerie: which was to life expressed by that holy King *David*, who (being both a blessed Prophet, and diuine in lyricall musicke) had by force of his melodie charmed that euill spirite, wherewith King *Saul* was possessed. Onely the chyrurgeries wherein true Princes are principally skilled, appeare in the sacred notice and cure of those inward diseases and griefes that infect and macerate their flockes, which they like good and fatherly Shepherdes should heale with good Lawes and Discipline. And yet your Grace, hath that oyle of grace and comfort powdered vpon you more then your fellow-princes, to cure all mischieuous and infistulated impostumes which GOD smiteth
vpon

*Barth. Cassan.
in consil. ter-
ris parit catal.
gior. mundi.*

most excellent Maiestie.

vpon the iawes of his people, to make your glories the more in healing, and his glories infinite by those blessings bestowed vpon your annointed hands (which diseases are otherwise remedlesse) being a diuine gift from aboue to that holy King *Edward* your Maiesties antecessor, and after him to the rest of his sanctified seed by sacred direction legacied, as hath formerly beene to the Kings of France also. Wherefore your Highnesse (being *Vnctus in regem & sacerdotem cum unguento lassisia super omnes terra reges socios tuos*) fitly resemble this bright Planet in his cleereft Maiesties; euen as that most sacred Psalmist King *Dauid* also, both for your Poeticall faculties, as in respect of your diuine Priest-hood, and chirurgerie, hauing by good experience (more then any man liuing euer did) tasted of the wonderfull wisdome and loue of God, who by such strange wayes surpassing humane reason, hath wrought out your Graces fortune in the weale of vs your louing and loyall subiects, farre beyond all the wily machinations, plots, and imaginations of men, which haue (as your Royaltie well knoweth) beene manifoldly frustrated; that it might bee performed which God had ordained and promised by the mouthes of diuers sooth-saying Augers, to perfect and establish in your seede the true tryumphant and vniuersall Christian Monarchie. Howbeit as no man liuing can haue a sweeter taste or cleerer declaration of Gods vnspcakable power (beyond all the soundest counsels & resolutions of our mortal Princes) then your Grace hath had in all actions; considering the strange meanes that hath been wrought by God through the plots of men destined to other purposes, to make your name glorious, and that your royall seede might inherite this Empire: so neede wee not doubt but that like a good Physition, your Maiestie (as it hath already graciously begun the cure of some small diseases in this kingdome, which God onely left vnto your gacious wisdome, that the whole body might be kept cleane and at ease) shall auspiciously continue the same, to be the same vnder the golden rodde of your right royall posteritie forever, by strong purgation and correction of the proud, chollerick, and melancholick humors thereof, which is the true methode of a kingly Phisition, and shall doubtlesly bring the head and whole bodie to perfect peace, and health.

Against

To the Kings

Against the Sunne (vpon which no reasonable creature can stedfastly fixe his mortall eyes, least they be dazeled, infeeble, or blinded with the pretious cleeretic thereof (being another type of sacred Maiestie) that imperiall bird foueraigning ouer the swift fethered creatures of the ayre by nature opposeth his sight: as *Orus Apollo* writeth in his hieroglyphiks, how the Sages of Aegypt and Chaldaean Priests (whē they would signifie diuine power, humane Empire, preheminance, blood, or victorie) did pourtraict an Eagle. What miracles he findeth through his stedfast, sharpe, and penetrating inspection within that sanctified Orbe of bright vertue, may be referred to those mysticall naturallists, which in the Metaphysicall cardes of their reason haue obscurely shadowed those things, that by mythologies are out of many curious heades from farre shot at, by some neere hit, and by very few truly touched. *Caius Iul. Caesar* (to whom this Land with others contributed) gaue in his ensigne of golde, a blacke Eagle perpendicularly mounting: which *Plinie* noteth in the nature of that bird. For it is written, that ouer *Casars* Hoasts when he marched to fight, diuers Rauens and Vultures did houer, and that two Crowes prodigiously with their wings and tallons eager in combination, strooke at his Beuer; wherupon auspiciously came an Eagle which (combating against their violence) slewe them both; and then immediatly perched vpon his imperiall crest. This ominous prodigie by the Augers was interpreted sinisterly, that *Casars* insuing gouernment should be tyrannous: since which time the Romane Emperors haue alwayes borne in their ensignes that royall bird, with which fortunately spreading his wings against their enemies, the Romanes did generally tryumph in many victories, and conquests. This Eagle also viuely representeth vnto vs, your Maiesties person, being onely your Highnesses scepter-bearing bird, with silver fethers; which with his auspicious wings shadoweth the crownes of this Britaine Monarchie with peace of soule and bodie rooted in your blessed posteritie for euer. Vpon earth next to the Sunne and ayre, that a full Magistrate (if of his Maiestie men may so terme the Lyon, bearing the scheme and figure of magnanimitie, which hath dominion ouer foure-footed beasts) is another portly representation of a perfect Prince: for
he

most excellent Maiestie.

he despiseth dangers, remembreth & obserueth him that shal woud
his bodie, though he be impaled with millions of men; the he mer-
cifully spareth which vpon his pursuit prostrate their bodies; wo-
men and children (vlesse vpon extreme hunger) he wil not hurt.
Vigilancie (being another right royall garbe of a carefull prince)
was portended by the picture of a lyons head; forsomuch as that
beast onely sleepeth with his eyes open: *Qui tanquam sol patenti ig-* Bart. Cassan.
neoque oculo terram conspicit. This noble creature in the person of for- 78. confid. 12.
titude vpon the right hand supporteth the royall Escutcheon of *partis calat.*
your imperiall crowne, assisted in our late deare soueraignes, and *glor. mundi.*
your Maiesties famously remembred sisters gouernment with
prudence and vigilancie, portended by the Dragon; and since her
death (if it may bee so called) with temperance, not exchanged;
but as with the perfections of all vertues relieued, or reuiued ra-
ther in your Highnesse Vnicorne: of all these your blessed Ma-
iestie royaltie participateth, as in the person of a true vertuous, and
sanctified king vpon earth. Vile is that wretched analogie, which
the corrupt Florentine Secretarie *Niccolo Machiavelli* seruant to Duke
Pietro di Medici, did in his puddle of princely policies produce be-
twixt a true Prince and a mixt monster resembling him (by the *Il. Prencipe*
example of *Achilles* who was instructed by *Chyron* the Centaure) *cap. 18 comma*
vnto a lion & fox, importing his strength & caution in all affaires: *se debbe offer-*
whereas it is well knowen, how no true prince can aptly be com- *uar la fede.*
pared to that vnfauory curre, if the very royall minde (which
amply possesseth euery iust King) bee respected. For why not
much more fitly might the comparison of Kings with Eagles then
with base Foxes haue sorted, if that imperiall birde which in op-
position with his eye-brightnesse amiably looketh into the sun,
can search, and penerate into the perfection of wisdom and
knowledge, being figurately shadowed in *Phœbus* or *Apollo*,
bearing also with him the thunderbolts of *Iupiter* (who mystical-
ly reueileth soueraigne Maiestie) to grinde, burne, and consume
into powder the violence of his enemies? semblably me seemeth,
that there should not be found any such difference in the state and
condition of Princes, which the subtile Italian *Sanazar* made of a
Pope in his times that he was *Bonus Princeps & malus vir*: because he
knew well how to gouerne, and did rule the people well, hauing

To the Kings

no proper facultie (by moderation of his owne appetites) to bee good vnto himselfe; for as *Cicero* citeth it out of *Ennius*, *Nequicquam sapere sapientem, qui sibi ipsi prodesse nequirit*: (being intended there by the minde onely) so certainly cannot any Prince be verely good vnto himselfe, if he doe not gouerne his flocke (which is the greater part of himselfe) in the feare of God and exercise of Iustice: whence it was that *Homer* termed *Agamemnon* in one place, Ποιμνὴν λαῶν: and in another part Βυλῆφρον ἄρδης: aswell for the pastorall charge, as for the prudent counsell and assiduitie required in him towards that function. Sanctitie & Iustice therefore (as I first said) by the propagation, corroboration, and æternization of all crowns and Monarchies, are the two maine pillars of principallitie; being those inseperable adiuncts of your right royall Maiesties lawfull and victoriorious quadruple crowne of Great Brittain, France, and Ireland, composed of the 4. cardinall vertues, which in this ensuing myrrour, framed out of the 4. immediate ministers or columnes rather of kingly Maiestie, with all humble dutie subiecting the impolished as they be, to your princely eyes, I present to your royall hands, vnder a special pardon for my boldnes in daring as a poore vnlearned Scholler (which offereth his ignorance in some rude exercise vnto his learned Schoole-master) to trouble your sacred Maiestie with these imperfections. Howbeit, as euery man which writeth ought to rest vpon & leane vnto the grace of his Patrone; so can it not choose, but that hauing chosen so gracious a Patrone, farre exceeding all other in goodnes, I shall finde more true grace and beneficence out of your royall nature, for this one Character of my bounden dutie respected by such a Soueraigne, then by the beneuolence of any subiect And therefore I presumed to your high Grace, being the Castalian spring head (which the Greek Sages did say to be patronized by that bright Lord of wisdom & Poetrie) thinking there (after my labours) to refresh my troubled senses: where though vnworthy to tast, yet shal I receiue some ingenuous alacritie, by seeing that pure & precious purling current. And that I may the more to my consolation contemplate the royall sun-shine and serenitie which enuironeth your sacred temples (though your Grace lay not apart the beames of your Maiestie) yet vouchsafe I beseech, with your diuine annointed hands to annoint

point these eyes of your humble subiect with the balmie dew of your gracious beneuolence, that I may bee the better inabled to looke vpon that consecrated Orbe of true maiestie; for had I been so timerous or faint, as in the regard of the vnworthinesse of my Booke protected the same by some priuate friend: then had I somewhat withdrawn from worth of the matter, which (how-soeuer the methode and disposition thereof deserueth) doth also merite a royall Master, and had miscarried in the manner of my proceeding also: thinking that because these foure insuing estates immediately ministring vnder all crownes in euery Common wealth, are protected by royall souerantie, your Grace was fittest also to patronize these my simple studies wholly conuersing in the properties and attributes of those Offices; which shall bee most highly honoured by the maiesticall protection of such a vertuous King, to his poore subiects exceeding comfort. My consideration therefore was, that your Highnesse out of the Princely nature, which God with your Essence hath infused, would deigne so simple present of a poore Scholler, with the beneuolence which your Grace natuely doth extend to learning: and that being hereafter published vnder that high Title many learned eyes, and curious fingers (not so much for the matter & forme of the Treatise, as for the Maiestie patronizing it) would peruse these yong rules in this vnperfect accedence to gouernment, and percase beare them through diuers of your Maiesties Kingdomes.

I haue also through my whole discourse (as occasiō serued) in diuers places made a continuall Apostrophe to your Maiestie, which I beseech your Highnesse (euē as it is in sinceritie) so to refer it vnto the true meaning of my most dutifull & immaculate hart towards your Grace, and not to any vaine singularitie, nor presumption in my self. The God of al true light cōtinue that illumination, brightness, and wisdom, which appeareth in your true graces, by that figure of the Sun; confirme that piercing inspection, apprehension, & prenoion of all princely deuises, wisdoms & practises, which may be bent in opposition to your Maiestie by forren kings, decyphered in that imperial Eagle; & corroborate that true fortitude to the confusion of Gods & of your Highnesses enemies, which is expressed in the royal Lyon; so that your kingdoms being susteined, amplefied, & conserued by Iustice, prudence & fortitude frō

To the Kings most excellent Maiestie.

posteritie to posteritie through many generations; so long as it
shall please God euently to susteine this earth in her owne place
within the firmaments, such serenitie may beame forth from your
gracious wisedome; as foreuer may moue the peoples hearts of
these your Kingdomes, of all your confederates and contributo-
ries, to daunce inwardly with praise and thankfulness
vnto God, for that blessing which through your
Graces speciall goodnesse infinitely succee-
deth to Gods people vnder your
imperiall Scepter.

Your most high Maiesties

most humble and obedient

Subiect.

BARNABE BARNES.

To Master *Barnabe Barnes*, this Madrigall
vpon his Booke.

IF all the world were fought from *Malta* to *Mone*,
From candid *Gauke*, to black-brow'd *Calicuse*;
No frame more various might have been made one
In eu'ry ioynt, or point like absolute:

For as some Spirits while they haue beene attent
On states of Princes, and on earthly right,
Haue follow'd the wordly side, with that intent;
And yet vnmindfull of the highest Sprite.

Others againe (too much I ween yblent
With heauenly zeale and with Religion)
Haue for the same the Secular forwent:
So if a meane there be (as meane but one
To twine the Crossier with the sword atone)
O let me then (with licence) to avow,
T'will, right *Paladine*, be by onely you.

W. Percy.

MVSOPHILYS.

Spes calamo occidit.

In honour of the Author by *Iho: Campion*
Doctor in Physicke. To the Reader.

Though neither thou doost keepe the Keyes of State,
Nor yet the counsels (Reader) what of that?
Though th'art no Law-pronouncer mark't by fate,
Nor field-commander (Reader) what of that?
But shouldst thou buy this Booke, for if thou mind'st to be
Vertuous, and honest, it belongs to thee.

Here is the Schoole of *Temperance*, and *Wis*,
Of *Iustice* and all formes that tend to it;
Here *Fortitude* doth teach to liue and die,
Then, Reader, loue this Booke, or rather buy.

EIVSDEM AD AVTHOREM.

*P*ersonas proprijs rectè virtutibus ornas
(*Barnesi*) liber hic viuet, habet Genium,
Persona virtus umbra est; hanc illa refulcit,
Nec scio splendesca corpus, an umbra magis.

*To my singular good friend Ma-
ster Barnabe Barnes.*

GRaue Architector of a Commonweale,
Well trauail'd in the mysteries of state,
Vouchsafe me roome; among the rest some deale,
Thy lostie frame to view, and wonder at :
And where the workmanship doth please mine eye,
To say, t'was wrought with painefull industrie.

That's euery where, for all doth merit praise,
The forme, the firme foundation, and the frame.
The forme Quadrangular, most meete to raise,
A Pallace sacred to eternall fame,
Founded on wisedome, builded vp on high,
With goodly lawes, and Christian policie.

Vp-held with foure strong Piles, whose bases ar,
Sage *Counsell*, awfull *Iustice*, armed *Might*.
Abondant *Treasure*, sinewes of the war
These make it strong to last, and faire to sight.
Where foure such pillers doe the bulke sustaine,
What feare we thunders, tempests, winds, or raine.

Heere maist thou fix with bold *Alcmena's* sonne,
*NIL VLT*RA, as the farthest continent,
That wisest statish euer yet did runne,
Within this world of ciuill government.
And as the wooke, so doth the style excell,
That of *Boterus*, *Bodin*, *Machiauell*.

Tho: Michelborne.

R. H. In commendation of the Author.

Some vncouth Muse which mountes vpon the wings
Of siluer fountaines, or sweet breathing windes,
Chaunt out her notes when she diuinely sings
To dignifie the state of these foure kindes:
Which Treasurers to moderation bindes.
And gracious prudence to graue men of State,
Where *Themis* rules of sacred Iustice findes;
Where fortitude doth sword-men animate,
O let some potent muse, these great designs relate.

And let bright fame whose worthy spirit pearceth
The worlds whole center and those heauely speeres,
Assume this taske for him, which here reherseth
These morall Offices of States and Peeres.
And thou that soundest in the prudent eares
Thy golden trumpet of rich Oratorie,
Gracious *Thalia*, let these learned Queares
Be graced as thou doest, each gracious Story,
That *BARNES* may liue by them, in euerlasting glorie.

Robert Hasill.

Iohn Forde in commendation of his very
good friend the Author.

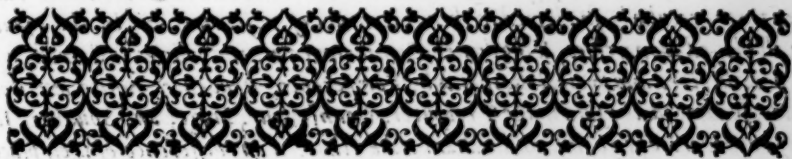
Not to adorne, but to commend this Frame,
Drawne by the curious hand of iudgements art;
Nor to commend, for this commends the same;
But solace to thy labours to impart:
A worke of thanks, out liuing terme of fate,
In brieve prescriptions of a formall State.

Great were thy paines, but greater is thy fame,
Lock't in the Iewel-house of precious treasure;
Which doth by Counsailes wisdom reare thy name,
In equall Iustice of well-ballac't measure;
Thou teachest souldiers discipline of fight,
And they againe defend thy merits right.

Write on rare Myrrour of these abiect dayes;
Thy good example others will aduise:
Thy subiect values loue, thy Studies praise,
A president to youth, life to the wise:
So euer shall (while times and Empires last)
Thy workes by thee, thou by thy workes be grac't.

*Verba, decor, grauitas, confirmant, denotat, ornas,
Autorem lepidum, re, grauitate, manu.*

Iohannes Forda Encomiaſtes.



Barnabe Barnes his Preface to the
honourable and discrete Reader.

I Haue apportioned my foure bookes of Offices (wherin certaine speciall qualities and principles are expressed for generall gouernement, and the choise both of ciuill and martiall ministers in euery Commonwealsh) unto the foure vertues cardinall. For as much therefore as royall treasure (being the maintenance of euery state, without which no principalities can consist, or augment) ought to be mystically couched within the diuine treasure Temperance (which is the moderator & guide of her other three sister vertues ensuing) I therefore haue placed Temperance in this first Paralel, considering the resemblance which it should haue with a Princes treasure, so well in the manner of getting & leuying, as in the sauing & disbursing of mony by discrete moderation; which office of Treasurers possesseth the first booke of these offices.

Prudence the substance of my second booke (deciphered & figured in the secret counsellors office) participateth of that reasonable moderation, which is expressed in the first. Also Temperance the treasurer with a gracious mildnes & motherly decency prudently pondereth and examineth all her actions, which are right noble and many, with her passions. Yet is it contrauerrible whether temperance be passionate or no; though one of her sweetest graces governeth in patience.

My third booke comprehendeth Iustice, which is in all causes seasoned with a requisite moderation and taste of ingenuous temperance, and prudence: temperance being of it selfe an indifferencie void of extremisie, viuely representeth Iustice, being incorporate with equitie and prudence: because with a certaine prudent circumspection it iustly weigheth all things in the balance of reason.

My fourth booke (in the same rancke containing certaine qualities of a true soldier) heroically representeth Fortitude; which with Temperance expressed in her patience, with Prudence in her foresight, and actions of honourable perill, with Iustice in the execution and maintenance of right, without any tolleration of publicke violence sisterly combineth: where as semblably temperance in her bridling and restraining of inordinate appetite, prudence in her stout and constant equabilitie, Iustice in her seuer and firme equalitie (being merely pure from all blemishes of feare and affection) are all in themselves a fortitude.

This is a diuine harmonie representing mentally by due distribution of humane charitie, the sacred unison of mans soule sanctified with God. This is that mysterie

The Preface.

which Hermes, Salomon, Pythagoras, Solon, Plato, Socrates, & Aristotle, haue all of them oracularly shadowed in their eternities of wisdom: and by these foure are all blessed Monarchies, Kingdomes, Commonweales, and polities sustained, gouerned, directed and protected, that is by Temperance, Prudence, Iustice and Fortitude, shadowed as I said in the Treasurer, Counsellour, Iudge, and Souldier: for they be moderate, wise, iust, and valiant alike; that nor any difference of their places is discerned, which of them may be greater or lesse then another.

To this harmonious consent or concordance (whose ground in wisdom consisteth of a medium, which is the moderator or nauel-string of this unspeakable musicke, representing the concealed and mysticall accord of the numberlesse starres and planetes conuning by the ineffable power of the most Almighty God in number and Symphonie; by which sacred force he worketh his will in all creatures: from far all influence of which diuine torches of light, by the most miraculous power of the most mighty moner, all worldly chaunces happen; which some nor well aduised haue called the wheele of fortune) there are extreames by the most metaphisicall disposition ordained preuincating or transgressing those foure diuine centres, or moderators, which I doe thus denominase, define, and distribute.

To Temperance therefore my first counter-tenor, one base, and one alte: for out of discords with the counter-tenor (being moderator) is the concord composed of perfect harmonie. The base hereof is couetous and vnnecessary penurie when ability doth sufficiently rebound; the triple or alte is raised from extreame profusion or excesse, making a shrill and riotous confusion of all: one of these extreames continually conuersing in basenesse and the other in haughtinesse throughout; as in the rest ensuing.

To Prudence which is my second counter-tenor or moderator, the base falleth into follie; the triple or alte listeth it selfe into malicious wilinessse and calliditie. Herein doth follie participate with the first being couetousnesse, in that it wanteth a reasonable discretion to make vse and comfort of Gods blessings bestowed: In extreame opposition thereof malicious craft or wilinessse accordeth with the first alte, that in publike and priuate affaires, it is a secret consumer; as extreame profusion or prodigallitie wasteth both publike and priuate treasure; the persons qualitie being considered.

Thirdly to iustice which is my next moderator, the vile base is dissolute indulgence or secure lenitie, when honestie by the couin of iniquitie lieth mortally wounded, and iniquitie scaping punishment receiueth honour and support: the triple or alte, extreme crueltie. Dissolute lenitie therefore in this consenteth with the first base which is called couetousnesse or vnrasonable sparing; for as much as contrarie to reason, it couereth a confusion of other mens estates by sparing the wicked; as couetise doth of other mens possessions by sauing of her owne, herein alluding to the second base which is follie: because such kind of foolish pittie or mercie (as some men terme it) cannot haue any taste of discretion or charitie. Likewise extreame crueltie consenteth oppositely with the first alte prodigallitie thus; by being so lauish and prodigall of blood as that other is of treasure: and with the second alte being craftie wilinessse; that in the prodigall effusion of blood, or in the tragicall end of impious, nefarious, and barbarous treasons, conspiracies, and murders, malicious craftinesse from crueltie differeth not.

Fourthly

The Preface.

Fourthly so fortitude (which is the last moderator) the base is basenesse of spirit or pusillanimitie, proceeding from inordinate sloath, feare, and luxurie, which is a subiection, or rather mancipation of the mind to sloath and brutish affections, passions and perturbations, when appetite tyrannizeth ouer reason: the triple or alse audacious temeritie. Pusillanimitie therefore in this consenteth with miserable and ambitious sparing (which is the first base) that it is as fearefull and miserably presumptuous of a little harish blood, when honourable causes sommon is like a iudge in sharles iustly to defend his owne with the guard of his heroicall spirits, and so contend for right; as that other basenesse is of treasure when speciall reasons doe most require a liberalitie: and with the second base being follie thus; that there can not appeare any more foolishnesse, then when people rimerously and basely without resistence damne themselves voluntarily slaves to the tyrannous gallies of their owne inward and outward enemies, whereas with a little paines and knitting of themselves up together they might restraine or vanquish them both: also with the third base, which is secure lenitie; for what weakenesse and abiection of mind can be discerned in one more then in another? for lenitie wilfully confoundeth euery priuate and publike estate; whereas basenesse or softnesse of spirit or pusillanimitie (the persons qualitie being respected) doth the same. Furthermore audacious temeritie, which violently without reason doth precipitate it selfe into perils herein oppositely concordeth with prodigalitie being the first alse; that it is more profuse (if possible) in effusion of blood, in rash participation and abbarreting of mutinies and quarrels then that other excesse is of treasure, of unreasonable and inconsiderate expenses riot and surfeits: and with the second alse which is malicious wilinesse and calliditie; that whereas wrath and the venomous desire of reuenge doth in a kind of desperation and temeritie, yush into the turbulent seas of danger: so doth malicious wilines by the secret labyrinths, snares, & curious traps of mortall villainies make up the mouth of mischief to bring about her diuelish designs; both of them being alike deepe in blood: and with the third alse or triple (being cruelitie which is the last consent in opposition with audacious temeritie) herein appeareth the finall concord of these discords euen that which reason and nature teacheth us; how no greater cruelty can be shewed then that a man either upon mere malice or some other hellish and ferie passion of wrath or blind affection (as a principall in the murder of himselfe) should rashly, violently, and irremediably croude into the speare-pointed troupe of perils, as Curtius and Decius, one mounted in armes on horseback to satisfie the wrath of the gods, upon the maine carriere entred and was swallowed up in the fierie gulfe, which prodigiously did exhale sulphurous and unquenchable flames: the other being consul, armed in a Romane lacke or brigandine (as Liuy recorderh) did sinzele on the same fashion run with full speede in gallop amid the battels of his enemies the Latines: and sacrificed himselfe for weale of the Romane host; where he thrusting his life into the very throats of his enemies choaked them that swallowed it.

So that to conclude with this consent of discords; being the certaine confusion of euery the most flourishing state where it tragically miseth; as the first harmonious concordance of the sphaericall vertues is the corroboration and amplification of euery kingdome which is formerly noted: so doe I say that Temperance is valiant, iust, and wise: Prudence is temperate, valiant, and iust; Justice is wise, temperate, and valiant,

The Preface.

liant, valor is iust, wise and temperat. In opposition semblably because the geometricall & analogicall harmonie draweth these other rebels, excrefcents, or excrements of vertue rather, so this uniuersall muster, that they may be precisely viewed and measured by the cube of reason; receiuing prest and wages answerable to their natures and qualisies: also for as much as it may be misconstrued by such as are more learned, or some, that percase lauen oppositon, I will leaue this as a Paradox, whether auaritious wisers be foolish, vniust, and simerous, whether simerous persons be miserable, foolish and vniust, whether vniust men be simerous, miserable and foolish, and whether fooles are vniust, simerous and miserable. In opposition likewise ex diametro, whether prodigals in their actions generally be not audacious, cruell, and craftie: whether craftie knaues to fetch about their diuises be not prodigall, audacious, and cruell: if cruell fellows in their hopes or rather feares be not craftie, prodigall, and audacious: and if audacious persons in their distracted humors of desire, reuenge & collier proue not cruell, craftie and prodigall. For a man (if he would perfectly know the secrets of gouernment) must warily serch forth these infectious leproisies of States; considering how there is not any good or bad in man-kinde, which is not contained in these oppositions: the causes of which euils being perfectly knowne, and presently remoued, all their effects of daunger must of force presently be drawne away with them. And he which cannot skill of this my concatenation, my wheele, or rather the true lone knot, and labyrinth of vertues with their opposites (though in other matters he vainely thinke himselfe wise) yet shall vndoubtedly misiudge of other mens conditions, attributing and adiudgeing improperly good and bad qualities to people contrary their depraued or natue inclinations: nay moreouer I dare affirme, that he which shall perfectly learne and practise this Lesson shall soone attaine the true knowledge of himselfe.

To conclude therefore, least I stand upon these points more curiously then acceptably, I say that those king domes or Commonweales are blessed and victorious, whose Treasurers are valiant, iust, and prudent; whose counsellors are temperate, valiant & iust: whose iudges are prudent, temperate, and valiant, whose captaines are iust, prudent, and temperate: such as for example Marcus Cato whom Liue magnifies for his excellent quicknesse and dexteritie fit for all noble offices; as in the whole course of his life temperate and decored with moderation; as in his admirable wisdom and sagacity to counsaile and direct in the most serious affaires of his countrey; as of his Iustice and skill in the lawes, which was incomparable; with his great courage & valor in the wars, which was inuincible: al which I mentioned in my second booke. And in such accomplisshed magistrates which by these instructions here insuing are made absolute, is coineined the whole morall force of a most gracious & ample monarchie.

These my beneuolent (though simple) Elucubrations, recommending heartily to your honorable constructions, I wish your welfare as mine owne; which if you with good Aequanimitie shall take fauourably, then haue I wonne the largest stipend of my studies that I could either trauaile or wish for. But if persons of vniuersall censure and iudgement (as amongst many, there bee which may more then falsly taxee my labours) shall shew some seueritie more then criticall, their malignitie cannot preuaile, because I shall accompt no time mispent, which tending so much to the common benefit of our yong countrymen is bestowed upon such morall considerations.

Yours resolued and assuredly B. B.

The

A



B



The first Booke of Offices.

C



Lbeit *Anniball* for scoffing at the most profound and learned Philosopher *Phormio*, because hee began abruptly to prescribe a forme for the order and instruction of Battels, was by some very wise men condemned of extreame and very barbarous pride; as in repining, that any man being shadowed at home amongst his bookes, should attaine that excellent skill in warre which he by learning expressed: yet doe not I my selfe thinke, being so incerely weake and farre short of that Philosopher. in all good knowledge and literature, as there is distance of leagues betwixt the spheres of *Sasurne* and the Moone, but that I were worthie to be rebuked and canuased, if either I should write these offices, as instructions for noblemen, and sage Counsellors of any Commonwealth, so farre exceeding my skill and iudgement as there haue yeares passed betwixt the date of *Phormioes* death and of my wretched life: or if I should bewray such stupiditie, by teaching men equall in degrees and arts with my selfe that which they can as well or better relate than I: or to bee short, if in the Leuin of arrogancie I should presume to talke of things surreaching the scope of my apprehension. Yet hauing collected many things by reading; a little with experience, and somewhat through obseruation, I did as appeareth simply couch them together in a little volume, containing these foure bookes of Offices, which I submit to the learned and right honourable Reader: for that onely respecting him, I would cleere my selfe of such scandalous imputations, as otherwise percase might wound my negligence with the points of foolishnesse and arrogancie. The discourse ensuing is both short and luculent, needing not (for memories sake) any preposition of argument or Dycotomie, such as it is simple and naked, with a most willing and cheerefull heart I profer: onely requesting pardon for my boldnesse, and to bee protected by them that are verily noble from all grosse and malicious misconstructions of the vulgar.

E

The first and chiefe place in all ciuile gouernment vnder princes and Com-
monweales, according to *Dion Cassius*, *Francis Patri:us*, *Barthol. Cassaneus*, *Hyp. Treasurers*,
polito, *Eurio Cerialano*, with others, which haue by their bookes opened the

B

formes

Lib. 52.

Cap. 16. de Mag.
Romanorum.

Taurix.

Barth. Cass. conf.
13. 7. partis cat.
glorie mundi.
Geo. Bened. in
Repet. cap. Reyn.
in verb.

Bonus de curtili.

formes of counsels, concerning the state of any kingdome, remaineth to the Treasurers, which by the Romanes were called *Quaestores a quarendo*, because they did seeke how to magnifie, corroborate, and amplifie the Commonwealth by lawfull and honourable meantes; for the speciall weale of those states and princes vnder whom they did administer; and also did faithfully conserue those riches to their trust committed. Hence is it that *Dion* tearmeth, *Quaestoratus principum gradum in Senatu*; howbeit *Iustus Lipsius*, not wholly suffragating to that opinion, sayth, *Quod inter magistratus fuerunt quaestores ordine primi, dignitate ultimi*. Which office (being auintiently deriued from the Greekes) was first erected amongst the Romanes in the first bud of that Empire, after it was growne to some height; when the societies of those people, louingly knit and assembled, had in the citie by their policies, valour, and industrie gathered and got a great masse of treasure together: wherein euery free citisen had equall share: at what time they did first institute two generall *Quaestores* or Treasurers, which were famous amongst them for their Iustice, valour, moderation and prudence, that had the tuition thereof, keeping their office in *Aede Saturni*. This institution of Treasurers *Tacitus* would haue amongst the Romans, when the Consular estate was first established, *Anno 23*. after their kings were abolished: some thinke they were first ordained, *Anno Urb. condita 269*: But it is not so doubtfull, as needlesse, precisely to stand vpon that point: onely this, the place of Treasurers being first amongst the ciuile magistrates (as at this day in Fraunce; where *Les generalx des finances*, & *les presedens des comptes*, haue a prioritie not onely before both the Counsels strict and at large; but also before the foure *Primiers Presidents* in that realme; as our Lord high Treasurer of England hath also: whose place with vs is highest next vnto the Lord Chancelour in ciuile reputation) giueth me some cause to digest the same into my first booke of Offices; being as I may tearme it not vnfitly that liuer wherein the blood (which possesseth the mouing life of euery commonwealth) is contained. For euen as moneyes are fitly called the sinewes of war, so may we likewise properly tearme them the blood of peace: and therefore that state or kingdome, whose treasure is exhausted (though it be most ample, populous, and puissant in other things) may be called bloodlesse and languishing, according to the saying of that learned Lawman: *Nobilitas sine diuitijs penè mortua est, tanquam corpus exangue*. Riches therefore may bee properly tearmed the blood of peace, that entering the veines or conduits of the liuer, which may seemably be likened to the Treasurers office, and reflowing thence, benignely disperseth it selfe into the members of the whole bodie, resembling analogically the Commonwealth, for the generall sustentation and nuriture thereof. It is the bone of that strong arme, by which the kingdome is in time of peace strengthened against all hostile attempts. It is the marrow by which that bone is seasoned, soupled, and confirmed: or rather that arme which is strongly nourished, enabled, and knit with those sinewes, veines, blood, bones, and pith; wherein remaineth a proportionable strength, guiding the sacred sword of iustice in hand.

The charge of Treasurers consisteth in the receiuing, keeping, and disbursing of the prince his money, consisting in the reuenewes of his Empire; amplified by the tributes of his subiects; supplied by the subsidies, fines, and forfeitures of cities,

- A** cities, societies, and malefactors; relieued with the tallages and customes of marchants and aduenturers; magnified in the prizes and presents, ordinarily resulting from forraine princes and people, either friends or enemies: and as *Titus Linius* writeth: *Munera Quaestoris sunt pecunia publica acceptio & expensio; signorum miliarium ex auro, vel argento in arario asseruatio; prada venditio & subhastatio; legatorum exceptio & deductio; hospitij assignatio.* All which were most honourable attributes peculiarly permitted to the Treasurers: and (as *Lipsius* noteth it) such was that auncient honour of those *Quaestores*, that amongst the Romanes of old it was permitted vnto them to make lawes and decrees, to subscribe vnto suites, motions, and petitions, being both keepers and presedents of the Lawes and of
- B** Iustice: which power is with vs and in France deuolued vnto the Lords Chancellors, howbeit in that realme principally; where the Lord Chancellor is highest in the kings counsels, of whom in all causes appertaining the weale of that state, the king taketh aduice, as of some oracle: so that when any rescripts, edicts, or decrees contrarie to law, bee by the king either vpon misinformation or negligence graunted, the Chancellour hath *ex officio* power to cancell or annullate them, whereupon was first deuised the name *Cancellarius*; which office in Venice hath the most secret particulars of that state in managing, and yet is not so powerfull in his authoritie. Likewise the French, *Generalx des finances*, vpon the like considerations, and respects may cut off, or curtall at their pleasures the kings gifts and bounties, issuing out of his Treasuries, Lands, or Reuenues (if in their wisdomes it seeme expedient:) and therefore (as I should thinke) they might by the like reason also be called *Cancellarij*, because they *Tanquam Tutores*, limit the kings mind *intra rationis & moderationis cancellos*. This counsell of Treasurers conuerseth in the exportation of such commodities, as euery Commonwealth out of her friendship, or abundance exchangeth or ministreth; hauing equall respect vnto the induction, or reinuection of such other merchandize, as their people need and couet most: Likewise in all treasures vnder ground, as in mines and minerals of gold, and siluer, copper, tinne, lead, and yron; the richest commonly belonging to the prince of that soyle, where such treasures are opened; and others either by graunt or otherwise, according to legall tenure of *Frank Charter*, or of other immunities royall in tenure of such subiects, as accordingly make payment to the custome, or imposition of the prince or countrey. Wherefore it behooueth, that such as be chosen into that place and authoritie, bee men not of learning and temperance onely; but of good yeares and much experience also: howbeit the Romanes did make choice of their *Quaestores* at twentie five yeares, according to *Tacitus*. Which Greene age could not amongst vs haue had that maturitie of iudgement, and foresight in these times, that is required in a worthie Treasurer: although amongst those Romanes in that golden age of nature, we may by circumstances find, that young noble men were in all the
- E** parts of their life generally, temperate and frugall, with a certaine specious appearance of liberalitie, yet did not in the appeare that precocitie, which is in many of our young heads of this age, which are so free at the first, that they bee soone poore and thredbare of vnderstanding, before the bruit of their rare pregnancie be well disperfed: and those young men were so well instructed from their infancie, that they did contend how to bee thought most noble, vertuous, and fit

for places of reputation in their countrey, by suppressing many lusts, motions, F
commotions, and vnperfect passions of the mind, with a moderate domination
of reason and constancie. They were full of modestie, full of dutie, and full of
such religion as then was professed amongst the prophane Gentiles, obseruing in
all words and deeds a temperat moderation, without any deturpation or deform-
itie. And these qualities in those young Romans, worthily made them eligible
and fit for such great dignities and offices.

The Lord high Treasurer of England his office is in the Exchequer, erected
by king *William* the first, for safe custodie of his crown lands, and of those records
which may concerne them. To which *Queene Marie* ioyned the Surueyors ge-
uerall, the court of Augmentations and reuenues of the Crowne, with the first G
fruits and tenths of Benefices, being erected by that king of good memorie, *Hen-*
rie the eight. This office is called *Scaccarium*, of a certaine large square table,
which according to *Geruas* of Tilburie, cited by *M. William Camden*, hath a
chequered cloth brought and spread vpon it, in the tcarne of Easter, as a place
or table of iust proportion, account, or iudgement; in all causes respecting the
royall treasure or reuenues: where all ciuile causes betwixt the prince and his
tenants are indifferently decided. Iudges in this court are, the Lord high Treasu-
rer of England, the Chancelour of the Exchequer, the Lord chiefe Baron of
that court, with other foure Barons assistants, the Remembrancer, Engrosser,
Controller, Clerkes of the Pleas, and of the Pipe-office; Auditors with their H
clerkes, Apposer, Chamberlaine, Clerke of the Streights, Marshall, Clarke of
the Summons, deputie Chamberlaines, Secondaries to the Remembrancer, to
the Treasurer, and to the Pipe-office. Also in the office of receit *M. Vice Treas-*
urer, Clerkes of the Tally, and of the Parchments, with diuerse other inferiour
officers. All which are ordained for the conseruation and amplification of those
foresaid reuenues, and of diuers other pecuniarie duties, ordinarie and extra-
ordinarie; by which the ciuile state of all principalities is necessarily sustained:
for it is manifest, that without the competent force of mony no Commonwealth
can hold together absolute in her members. And to that purpose was it first deu-
uised, when people and nations were necessarily constrained to require supplies I
and succours out of remote countries, by commutation of comodities through
exportation and importation of them from and to forraigne places; howbeit the
principall exchange is for gold and siluer coyned in little round plates and be-
santes of greater and lesse value, being authorised by the edicts of those princes
and Commonweales where they bee stamped, and passe currant amongst the
people. Foure kinds of mettall haue auintiently beene coyned amongst the Ro-
manes, one of lead; which when it first was deuised, exceedeth all records of
true memorie, as *Iust. Lipsius* writeth: another of brasse or copper, which the
Romanes therefore called *Pecunia quod esset nota pecudis signata*: of which
coyns diuerse vnder the Romanes here in Brittain, as well of copper as yron K
likewise were stamped, according to *M. William Camden* in his booke of Brittain
antiquities. Siluer amongst the Romanes was first coyned, *Anno, ab vrbe cond.*
484. *F. Picfore & Qu. Oculeio Coss.* The coyne of gold 62 yeares after the siluer,
C. Claudio Nerone, & Marco Latio Salinasore Coss. The beginning and end of
coyning was for commerce, as by pieces of some value for exchange of other
com-

Drift, in Polit.

Cap. 1. de re Pec.
Plin. lib. 18.
cap. 30.

Plin. lib. 1.

- A** commodities to people of other nations : by whose diuers and seuerall stampes the countries with whom they traffiqued were knowne . And hence is it, that those coynes of mettall are infinite ; which dependeth vpon two reasons also : the first is, vpon couetousnesse of people, which would abundantly bee serued with things which their minds couet for some needfull vses : the lecond, vpon pleasures ; for which many men seeke for great heapes of money : but the want of things desired amongst men is infinite, and the choice of pleasures endlesse, all which are attained by money. The desire of treasure therefore can neuer bee fulfilled, according to the saying of Cicero, *Expetuntur diuitia cum ad vita vsus Lib. 2. Off. necessarios tum ad perfuendas voluptates. Dilectant enim magnifici apparatus vitæ que cultus cum elegancia & copia quibus rebus effectum est ut infinita pecunia cupiditas esset.* A Treasurers prudent care and whole studie therefore, leuellet at all such honourable meanes and iust occasions. as may serue to bring in diuers summes, and how to maintaine a continuall haruist of getting, to sustaine those infinite burthens of necessarie disbursement ; how to leuie for the Commonwealth with good discretion, and nothing without vrgent cause . Vnto which contribution, that it may be more liberall and cheerefull, is required, that the people be generally well affected both towards the prince and vnto that common necessitie which importuneth the same : for the better effecting whereof, some plausible and effectuell declaration published vnto them by their Soueraigne, readily prepareth their hearts, moouing in them a more benificent kind of alacritie ; and therefore it is in such cases most behoofefull, *Vt omnes intelligant si salui esse velint necessitati esse parendum.* For beeing perswaded, that the generall safetie dependeth thereupon, you shall find the couetous, readiest to contribute. Morcouer it addeth very much vnto the loue of people towards their princes, and to their good opinion of his grace and meekenesse vnto them correspondently, when he by suit seeketh that which his regall authoritie might exact.

- The respects are great, and those necessities important, which should vrge a prince to violence in those cases : yet a good Soueraigne can neuer haue cause of compulsion : For when the king which hath authoritie to constraîne, vseth a facilitie to persuade, it importeth some vehement necessitie . Can any priuate Commonweale mount without tributarie wings ? Or could the firmament of peace be cleere, if all clouds had not first beene dispersed with the thunder of warre ? Are armes exercised without wages ? Are ships provided of men, victuals, and of artillerie, without mony ? How shall officers which be continually busied in ceaselesse seruice for the common securitie, haue reliefe without salaries ? May vertuous or needie persons bee rewarded or succoured without some generall supplies ? Few be those princes of Christendome (so neere as I can iudge) whose owne priuat reuenues are able to supply the publicke charge onely : so that the more puissant any prince is in dominion and territorie ; so much more the common charge doth aggrauate his necessities.
- E**

For this office therefore, all honest and needfull meanes of getting are to bee carefully studied and provided: towards the true maintenance whereof it highly beneficeth to forbear all superfluous damnable and intollerable subsidies: for if such publicke businesses in a Commonwealth oppresse the prince, which

according to the best iudgements being great and multiplied, doe through prudent consultation, foresight, and caution ioyfully propagate all Soueraigne empires; then must it necessarily follow, that a generall aid be ministred by the commons for their generall good: least otherwise the publicke treasure be (through want of such tributarie supplies) drawne to the bottome, whereas it ought continually to bee multiplied and cherished: *Esenim qui rempublicam gubernabunt consulere debebunt, ut earum rerum copia sit qua sunt necessaria.* Which if they do carefully respect, sildome or neuer shall any vehement cause happen to them of exaction. And therefore that good and charitable Emperour *Traiane* viterly disallowing, and detesting all compulsion and priuie pinches in those cases, *Fif-*

Ch. 2. Off. *cum lieuem vocatis, quod eo scilicet crescense artus reliqui corabescunt.* Howbeit, that sentence in some cases to me seemeth more verely physicall according to the letter, than morally philosophicall, answering to the sence. And therefore *parta frugaliter tuendo*, many such inconueniences are preuented, *Magis etenim dedecus est parva amittere, quam omnino non paruisse.* This treasure therfore ought to be cherished, the cherishing wherof is principally found in cutting off all idle and superfluous expences: for therein it doth as well encrease by sauing as receiuing. It likewise augmenteth by the bold and industrious valour of them, which make great and honourable aduentures, as well by land seruice, as nauall for their countries glorie: returning after a long, laborious, and chargeable voyage, loaden with treasure and commodities. So did the noble Romane *Aemilius* bring from the Macedonians; which spoyle was so rich and great, that it eased the people of Rome many yeares after from tributes: of which hostile booties he was knowne not to bring any thing to his priuate houses or hampers, sauing onely the renoume of his triumphs and victories: which how well he demerited, is witnessed in noble historie. Such excellent and precious countrey men should be furnished at the common charge with ships, men, armes, and prouision, that they might exercise themselves in those seruices, which should increase and magnifie the Commonwealth. I may not forget *Sir Francis Drake*, so much remembered and acknowledged through the whole world (which he copassed) for his noble skill and industrious fortitude, who did both much benefit & magnifie the state of this land; being not borne of any very noble parentage: Howbeit that his working good spirit, and better fortunes alwaies incited him to some honourable interprise, which in the late raigne of blessed Queene *Elizabeth* brought much coine, and bullion of gold and siluer vnto the princes treasures, somewhat out of hostile spoyles from the Spaniards, taken by that euer renowned Earle of Cumberland in his nauall voyages. To whom at this day we shall find few comparable for their painfull aduētures, equiualluable with the trauels either of *Crist. Colombo*, or *Hernando Cortez*; if you will superadde therunto that excellēt fortune and natiue valour, which alwayes accompanied and winged their heroicall enterprises. I might speake here of *Sir Thomas Candish*, & of *Sir Humfrey Gilbert*: but hauing mentioned *Sir Francis Drake*, in him is comprised so much as they could deserue. Diuers other gallant gentlemen, borne here in England amongst vs, which being yet young and aliue, haue percase some fortunes in store, to make them as glorious in such seruices, as any that euer traauiled. My meaning is not here, that by the direptions, piracies, depredations of cities or nations confede-

In vita Iuliani. *G*

Salust. bell. In-
gurb. lib.

George Clifford. *H*

K

- A** confederated and vnited (which is meereely dishonest and vnprofitable) to farce and gorge vp the common Treasuries: for so much as it withstandeth all reason and humane policie, with true colour emblazoning the violation and breach of peace and amitie, which vndoubtedly bringeth a most lamentable confusion with it vnto those princes and Commonweales in their estates, that are both agents and patients in these cases: but onely with the spoyles of malevolent, mischieuous, and professed enemies; by whose oppression their whole state is weakened, and in whose weakenesse our forces are confirmed: such as cannot be more malicious or mortall aduersaries for any violence which wee can offer vnto them. Treasures gotten from such ambitious and malevolent people, are
- B** laudable, and magnifie the state of our kingdomes. Such verely were the spoiles which *Lucius Mummius* (Collegue in Censorship to *Paulus Aemilius* aforesaid) brought from the state of a most opulent and braue citie: by which atchievements, *Cicero* noteth in his Offices, that *Mummius* was not a penny the wealthier in his owne priuate purse than before. Adde heicunto, not vnlike in magnificence, though their fortunes were vnequall, the condition of that sometimes right noble and vnforgotten Lord of good memorie, *Robert Earle of Essex*, after his expedition to *Cales*: By which example in himselfe hee made knowne to the conetous capitaines of his time, and vnto those which had heard of his victories, that true glorie was meereely the subiect and substance of his seruice, which hee shared with his countrey: treasure the meede of his militarie men, which hee magnificently distributed amongst them. And certainly, there is not any thing which more to life representeth the noble conditions and natures of gallant souldiers in highest militarie reputation, than either their great victories and spoyles, or their calamities and disfortunes: for the bearing of themselves equall, and the same in both extremities, without insolence or abiection, clearly manifesteth to the world their vertues. Neither can any thing be more precious and amiable in the sight of people, than a magnificent and bountifull magistrate. *Hunc enim maximè populus admiratur qui pecunia non mouetur: quòd in quo viro perspectum sit, hunc dignum spectatu arbitramur, &c.* Such princes therefore vndoubtedly win a
- D** generall good opinion and admiration, in seeming to despise those treasures, and pleasures, which some weake princes, and all vulgar persons hold precious: howbeit with such a negligent semblance, as neither prodigalitie may preiudice their estates; nor their negligence (by not seeking out honourable means to maintaine that excellent good fame) may diuert all lawfull and commendable helps for the support thereof.

This Office amongst diuerse other ways to weaken it; is laid open to those masse charges which the prince vndergoeth in his warres: and from the fountaine thereof all inferiour Treasurers of armies, garrisons, nauies and prouinces, with such like, are continually serued. It is therefore most reasonable, considering so many riuers are supplied therewith, that diligent circumspection bee required to preferue the Spring alwayes full by beneuolent, and due retribution of waters through those siluer pipes, which may without stop cheerefully conuey them to that fountaine from the calme riuers of the Commonwealth, redispensing them with a carefull kind of beneficence to the common good and tranquillitie. This fountaine must be kept alwayes (if not full) yet not neere drie, least by defect

defect of the slenderest vaine branching from it, penurie succede, being a **F** most pestilent feauer, or consumption rather to the king and Commonwealth.

A curious eye with vigilant regard must bee bent vpon the Collectors, Receiuers, Auditors, and other inferior ministers belonging to this office; least in exactions, or by fraudulent deuises they satisfie there priuate auarice with a kind of extortion or crueltie. For auarice is an inordinate lust of hauing, whose appetite is infinite, whose acquisition immoderate, whose possession vnlawfull, whereby the prince vndoubtedly may bee brought into daunger. It is like that *Hydra* which Poets talke of, that though the stroke of Iustice execute vpon it continually; yet will it miraculously reuiue againe: it forceth not either the lightening, thunder or thunderbolts of the law provided against it. **G** *Salust* describeth it a beast rauinous, cruell, and insollerable: where it haunsieth, huge Cities, Fields, Churches, and Houses are laid wast: Heauen and Earth prophane-ly mingled; Armies and strong wals cannot restraine the violence thereof: It spoileth all mortall people of good Report, Modestie, Children, Nation, & Parents, &c. So doth this brightnesse of gold bleare mens outward senses, so fuming in their heads, and fastened in their hearts, that they feare not any mischief which can accompanie Lucre. Such wicked, vniust, and rauinous officers, eating the people as bread, are to be squeezed like sponges full of water. Great caution therefore must be vsed against the violence of officers in such extortion, least the **H** prince after some few yeares patience of the people, vpon new grieuances, become odious: which king *Henry* the eight in the second yeare of his raigne did most politickely prouide, in his proceedings against *Sir Richard Emson* and *M. Dudley*, late inward and of counsell in such cales vnto his sage father, king *Henry* the seuenth. By good example of whose punishment others might vpon the like inconueniences suffer. For if the people find not redresse vpon their complaints, then will they rise (as at that time it was feared) in open hostilitie: which if the blood of those extorting officers can expiate without some humane slaughter sacrificed to tenne hundred sepulchers, then is it happie: but such generall hurts haue commonly no compensation, without a generall confusion. **I**

The peoples payments ought so to be disposed therefore, that all men according to their faculties, by due discretion of good and honest sworne officers in euery shire or prouince, may take such reasonable dayes, and times of payment limited, as they may without any grudging or diseafe contribute heartely. Moreover, that such (as are in speciall affaires of their prince, and for the Commonwealth employed; hauing by such occasions largely spent of their owne priuate for the common good, as euery good man will in such cases) bee for examples sake, for the good encouragement of others, precisely exempted from all kind of burthens and impositions. Also such as haue formerly done much **K** grace and honour to their countie and princes (if they be not at that time so high in blood, that they may well away with phlebotomie) should bee graciously spared; according to the French order: for all courtiers and seruants, attendant vpon the kings person in his house, are (by the ciuile lawes of Fraunce) excepted in time of peace from all collections, tallages, gabels, exactions, customs,

A stomes and impositions whatsoeuer, which others are tied vnto: likewise in the times of warre, from any burthen or receiuing, quartering, and billeting of souldiors. Obseruation (concerning these collectors and ministers before named) dependeth vpon the chusing and displacing of Officers either iust or corrupt. First, the choice of such ministers is made out of men, honest, stayed, and well approoued for such a purpose; bad Officers which did extort or vnlawfully compasse, being with losse of their places and possessions punished.

Dispensation of these tributes and subsidies must bee to the generall, and not any particular vse: for no man will sticke at a little charges employed to publicke behoofe, if it once appeare, that the prince doe not consume his treasure in vnneccessarie cost and riot, but keepe a moderation with decencie, which (albeit the vulgar do not generally make: for they respect onely the princes proper faculties and reuenues (which ought to be by the treasurers concealed so much as may bee) yet certaine captious and dangerous heads, full of quarrels and aduantages; such as are of feticie spirits, coueting innouation: which commonly lead the blind and abused vulgar into dangerous actions) will narrowly sift and make a breach into the common peace, vnder the pretext of taxes and impositions; as hath beene found in certaine commotions in the dayes of king *Richard* the second, and king *Henry* the sixth, with other princes, vpon the like occasions. Such gettings therfore as proceed from the subiects beneuolence, must bee sparingly spent and husbanded: and so should the Treasurers beare themselves in that Office, as stewards of other mens goods, and not of their owne.

That most prudent and worthy Lord Treasurer *William Cecil* goodly well approued ouer all causes, and in all businesse either publicke or priuate, during the late and most deare mirror of good gouernment, *Queene Elizabeth*, of most renowned and euerliuing memorie, did leaue behind him a liuely patterne and precedent of his singular care and excellent wisdom, to the great encrease of that stocke, committed then to his charge, as may serue euerlastingly to them which yet are or euer may be credited with that office, to get and maintaine eternall reputation. The generall good opinion and report of him after his death in the mouths of all good men, may stirre vp his successours in that place truely to resemble his vertues and integritie.

The treasure therefore may not bee wilfully wasted or exhausted for satisfaction of any prince in his priuate prodigalitie. *Vera enim & simplex via est, magnitudinem animi in addendo, non demendo reipublica ostendere.* Oratio Philippi in Senat. ex Sen. luss. For persons of lauish humours and exorbitate affections, thinke not that there is any true fruition of treasure without profusion. Diue deepe therefore into the bottomelesse danger thereof by manifold and most manifest example and obseruation, as in *Archigallo* king of the Brittaines, who was deposed by the people for his extortion, after hee had reigned fife yeares, and then vpon his reformation restored. And amongst diuers vnadvised princes consider, that it was not the least cause of decay to *Edward* of Carnaruan, king of England, Edw. 3. when hee by such meanes lost the loue of his commons, by listening vnto flatterers, and wilfully robbed himselfe of the fealtie of his nobles, which opened

pened his sepulchre for other matters more securely. Men of such profuse qualitie, which extort much, as if they could not keepe any thing, but that which is taken with a violent extortion, are in themselves miserably poore.

From hence likewise brauncheth another speciall rule of moderation, that no leuies surmount the princes occasions: for if it tend not to the subiects great benefit, being very necessarily dispensed, it dishonoureth any Soueraigne to straine them in so small a matter. And such impositions must also be sildome, that the people grow not wearie with them, being fashioned more or lesse according to their plentie or pouertie: for such princes are haunted with the furies of a lamentable infamie, whose treasures deuour the subiects labours, and neuer rest satisfied with bloodie booties. Wee may reade likewise in the French Chronicles, that those impositions which *Philip le beau* and *Charles* the fift, kings of that realme, had set vpon the wines and salt, caused the men of Gascoyne and others in the dayes of *Henry* the second, king of Fraunce, to rebell, which was a great preiudice and danger vnto that state, albeit now by custome a speciall part of that crownes reuenues (at which no man, by reason of the long continuance in these latter times, repineth, but willingly submitteth himselfe to the burthen) dependeth vpon them and the like Monopolies. Good princes also will take heed of that pernicious desire, which in prosperitie filleth vp the still gaping mouths and purses of parasiticall flatterers, and temporizing Sycophants: howbeit some liued in the late raigne of good Queene *Elizabeth*, which abusing her high grace, extended towards them out of her meere royall nature, compassed such things as were both preiudicall to her reputation, and to the Commonwealth in some sort: such persons as these cannot be truely called seruants, but vnto their owne intollerable affections; neither will I giue instance of them, namely, being so generally knowne, and fresh in our memories; as also for many more reasons of modestie which inhibit it. It is therefore most certaine, that all newly denised monopolies vsurping vpon the subiects trades and trauels, are odious, and commonly dangerous: such as amongst other *Vespasian* tooke of *Vryne*, who (because his sonne *Titus* seemed to mislike therof) told him, that though the subiect was vnflauoured, yet the accident was sweet. And what a beastly Monopolie or monthly tribute is that, which is at this day taken into the Popes treasures in Rome and at Bologna, from those curtisans and whores, which by profession prostitute their bodies for gaine. Which the very Gentils and Atheists, as *Lampridius* writeth in his Histories, did prohibite, That any tributes issuing from harlots or bauds, should bee receiued into the sacred Treasuries; but reserued in another place for the disposition of the *Ediles Curules* towards the furnishing and setting forth of publicke playes and shoues, as also to the reparation and mending of bridges, ports, and high wayes for the cities Commonwealth. Likewise wee find, that *Alexander Severus* taxed all sorts of artificers, drapers, glasiors, skinners, masons, plasterers, shoemakers, with such like, in a moderate order; the Romane Empire being then growne vp to that height, which could not easily permit insurrection or mutinies. Onely this according truely with the state of princes

- A** in such cases, *Vestigal optimum est parsimonia*: for by beeing frugall of his owne, he winneth the loue and fauor of his people in sparing of them. *Claudius Nero*, thought his tyrannies and oppressions of the people had purchased him a generall and mortall hatred amongst them: yet deuised this one way, (*Quasi pulcherrimum donum generi mortalium daturus*) to free the Romanes during his time from all tributes, and thereby to wash out of the peoples remembrance all infamous notes of his owne misgouernment: howbeit, the Senate told him, That it would be the subuersion of his state in posterity, that those fruits by which the imperiall state was sustained, should bee taken away. And certaine it is, (if there bee many Monopolies in the Commonwealth) that diuers good princes will either remit or diminish them; which *Charles* the eight of Fraunce (as *Lupanus* writeth) had done, but that death otherwise preuented his beneficence. Howbeit, in all affaires concerning the conseruation or amplification of any Commonwealth: *Regis Aerarium est aerarium populi, & aerarium populi mutuo regis est aerarium*. And therefore, when little or no publicke cause of exhaustion impendeth, frugalitie most honoreth a prince, by keeping a due proportion betwixt the treasure got and his disbursements, according to the square of necessitie.

*Cor. Tac. lib. 13.
Annalium.*

*Ioh. Tilius lib. 1.
com. de rebus
gall.*

- In leuying of Subsidies it must be specially respected, that equalitie without any partiall or affectionate passion in the collectors and officers bee precisely respected: that the contribution of Cities, Societies, and Husbandmen, according to their lands and reuenues, bee measured with indifferent paritie: for my selfe haue sometimes heard the mutterings and grudgings of diuers people, which (though they most willingly would exhibite: yet did they repine at their vnequall taxation, saying, That they were so much the more assessed than others, by how much the lesse they were rated in the Subsidie bookes. Such must therefore be chosen, as will not either in malice or fauour oppress or succour. For being ordinarily vexed at inequality, the people naturally will grow malicious, measuring their losses with other mens gains: And hence is it, that a more diligent circumspection is required in them which haue that charge in hand. Moreouer, it helpeth the common policie to know perfectly the differences of patrimonies, dignities, ages, and offices, with all arts and professions of persons remaining vpon record. By which order, according to precise iudgement and discretion, all tributes are by due proportion leuied, and people assessed. It behooueth them therefore in their priuat consciences first to compare their own particular estates, together with the Commonwealth in all equitie, appointing commissioners as censors, which can discern and take notice of the peoples off-spring, ages, families, and substance euery third or fift yere. For some of them may remoue their dwellings, others may die, diuerse also may encrease or decrease, during that space, in goods or possessions: by which knowledge had of peoples ages and abilities, they may bee chosen either for militarie seruices, or enioyned to burthens in the common cause of their country, when occasion shal opportunely require. Thus much concerning the charge and conditions of Treasurers. It followeth now, that I declare how far, according to the sagest and best approued writers a prince should extend his arme in the fruition or dispensation of these benefits.

Nicolo Macc. il
prena. cap. 16.
De liberalita &
miseria, &c.

Ad Caf. de Rep.
ordinanda.

It is very commendable in a prince to be reputed liberall, which some cu- F.
rious and cunning writers would haue out of the purses of others; so that his
owne hampers be not diminished: for it is intended, that how much more
the common necessitie doth import, so much more patience and alacritie
should appeare in the people frankly to contribute towards the conseruation
and encouragement of that peace by which they were enriched. Hee may
not make the people fearefull of his liberalitie with grieuous and vneedfull
impositions; but onely sparing his owne, vsing their beneuolences to their
generall comfort, with a couetous kind of liberalitie: which beeing with
good cunning and discretion exercised, the people will with all honour to the
prince embrace it louingly: for he which is vertuously liberall, according to G
strict conscience, shall neuer bee commended nor honoured for it: because
that is not vulgarly tearmed liberalitie in princes, which walloweth not in ex-
cesse: a course euery way pernicious to the foueraigne and subiect: first occa-
sioning a priuate pouertie to the prince; to the subiect then in grieuous and
insupportable supplies for maintenance of that iolitie; forcing them to diso-
bedience, and himselfe to shame and rapacitie. And I am verely perswaded,
that all prodigall persons are of a fierce and turbulent spirit, during that hu-
morous tempest, readier (when want approacheth vpon their imprudence) by
most wicked meanes to maintaine that riot, than to fall vnto some honest
and meane course of quiet liuing, as many times when I consider hath ap- H
peared to me liuely by good example; which also consenteth with that say-
ing of Salust: *Annius ferox praua via ingressus (ubi consueta non suppetunt)*
fertur accensus in socios modo, modo in ciues: mouet composita & res nouas ve-
ribus acquiris, &c. Such a course therefore sometimes will vndoe both the
prince and subiect, being a very daungerous kind of liberalitie. What must
he therefore doe to maintaine a good opinion of that vertue without perill?
First, let him not fret inwardly, though he be condēned of parsimonie, so close-
ly smothering auarice, that he be not reputed couetous: for admit that attri-
bute be blacke stone, yet is the subiect thereof bright gold: for a prince can-
not make safe vse of liberalitie, neither hold his owne sure without danger. I
But of these two difficult choices a wise prince will affect parsimonie; for
growing rich with sparing hee shall be magnified amongst forrainers; which
will therefore stand in feare of his puissance: and at home with his owne
people, for that in sparing his treasure, the subiects liuinges are likewise spared:
which forbearance they willingly rearme an honest and vertuous liberalitie.
Such opinion did *Titus Flaminius* purchase amongst the Greekes, which vp-
on the ouerthrow of king *Philip* of Macedon, enfranchised all the cities of
Greece from tributes by publicke proclamations in euery place. Likewise
Perinax graunted vnto all that exercised tillage and husbandrie, franke in-
termiſſion from tenne yeares tribute. Howbeit, if princes haue laid a firme K
foundation, how they may through high liberalitie multiplie dominion, then
will not they commonly spare at any cost: yea people naturally breath and
hunt after the fortunes of magnificent princes. But hauing once firmly
effected their purpose, their purchase is by little and little as warily cherished.
Neither is the course of their gouernment in any iot impeached, but magni-
fied

- A** fied thereby. To princes militant also profuse liberalitie much auaieth, if they can with hostile spoyle encourage their souldiors, taking examples by *Cyrus, Caesar, Alexander*: for that both retaineth and augmenteth their reputation, if the generall burthen bee not carried out of their owne cofers. Let this onely be considered of prodigalitie; That it is a great vessell bottomelesse, a big chest locklesse, a vaine profusion carelesse. And if I should paint that strumpet to life, I would place her in great and iolly pompe, variably plumed, marching betwixt a notable foole, and a singular braggart, seruing for two villanous weake supporters: and seconded at an ynh also by two forlorne slaues; one of them a miserable begger, and the other an vn pittied penitentiarie.
- B** Me seemeth it a fit comparison betwixt the viper and princely prodigalitie: for that infinit spawne which is bred of this serpent (being composed of inordinat affections, intemperat appetites, base flatterers, and of the most contagious offall and poison of all princes courts) eat out the bowels of the parent at the verie time of their birth, which perisheth by them that were cherished by her. These young viprous vices liuely represent ingratitude, to which all of them be subiect that are fostered by prodigalitie. These are those hounds which mythologically deuoured *Aëdon*; when after the murderous pleasures and concupiscence of his eyes and flesh, he was transformed into a fearful beast, excellently shadowing that pusillanimitie which through excessse of sensualitie deprive him of a reasonable creatures shape and faculties, leauing him a lamentable spoile to those deereft and most inward enemies, his owne affections. Yet for as much as I run here into some morall considerations, me seemeth it should now be verie fitting to make some demonstration of those ethicall parts that are in Temperance, by which the treasures of all wise princes and people ought to be restrained and gouerned.
- C**

Temperance therefore is a vertue which subiecteth pleasures to the yoke of reason, limiting all things within moderation: *Cicero* defineth it to be the constant and moderat domination of reason, restraining vs from lusts, and from other violent imperfections of the mind. *Plato* with *Aristotle* consenteth, that

- D** Temperance is most speciously seene in passing ouer, and as it were fearefully, but more painefully coasting away from all voluptuous appetites: and therefore they tearme it *Sophrosune*, being the conseruator of prudence, signifying a moderation or frugalitie: for if fleshly concupiscence or inordinate pleasure subiect the noble part of man, then will they forceably banish all reason and moderation, manacling and fettering him within the mazie wildernessse of secure sensualitie: so that neither foot nor hand shall haue power to discharge their naturall functions in any due proportion, but are stopped and steeped in the dregs of all riot and profusion, which dragge along with them (as I sayd before) rapacitie, shame, and beggerie. Wise princes and
- E** potentates therefore, to whom God hath imparted treasures in abundance, ought with all vehement intention to ponder, how dangerous intoxicating a poyson this is, because vnto them more than to others, such momentanic furies misguidedly masking in the falsed habiliments of sweet comfort and contentment, like enchauntresses, oft and many times appeare. For as much therefore as pleasures either proceed from a naturall instinct, being corporall

and common to all creatures hauing life, or from some inwardly conceiued **A**
 opinion: of which, some haue reference to good and honest purposes, which
 are meereley directed by the rule of temperance; others are extreameley bad
 befotted and nuzzled in brutish sence: all wise and perfect princes will so mo-
 derate their owne appetites, freeing them from all exorbitat and luxurious
 pleasures, as may both encrease their honor, health, wealth, and empire. How-
 beit, *Seneca* writ, That there be delights with which temperance dispenseth, &
 others also which she doth hate and banish: considering therefore how nature
 is nourished and supplied with a little, and that temperance by the direction
 of reason prescribeth a necessitie to nature, that it may liue within a mediocri-
 tie: these pleasures of excess in diet, ornaments, and of all luxurious appetites, **G**
 are ascribed to the bodie. Other delights, as when a man is arrogant & opinio-
 natie, or infected with a vaine selfe dotage, or when he libidinously prosecu-
 teth his owne fantasies, oppressing his pure reason with the foggie mists of li-
 cenciousefse, are well appropriated to the mind. *Cicero* diuideth temperance
 into three parts: first into Continence, by which desire is restrained vnder the
 gouernment of counsell, and which in all corporall diet & ornament keepeth
 a meane. Vnto which Abstinence is annexed as a part thereof, & manifested in
 binding mens hands from rapine and theft: next into Clemencie, which is a
 mentall temperance, when there is power and sufficient meanes to punish and
 reuenge, or rather (as *Seneca* teacheth it) a lenitie descending from the superior **H**
 to the inferior in cases of punishment. Mercy (being the mother of gentlenesse
 and humanitie, highly pleasant in the most high presence of God) is adiunct
 to clemencie: and thirdly vnto modestie, which (as *Cicero* defineth) is a *con-*
Lib. 3. ad Heren. *ment moderation or cohibition of lusts, mouing and reuelling in the mind.* He likewise
Lib. 2. de inuent. sayth, That honest modestie through shamefastnesse doth retaine a noble and
 constant authoritie. Adiunct to this is the feare of shame or disgrace, as by the
 philosophicall definition of *Verecundia* should appeare, which *Tully* seembably
 calleth ingenious timidity, with a reuerence expressed vnto men: whereas by
 the naturall inclination and propertie thereof it will not hurt any man; but is
 that true comelinefse or decencie which the Philosophers call *to opor*, perfectly **I**
 manifested in temperate and well affected bodies, when they bee suddenly
 prouoked, commoued, or stirred vp with some vndecent or cōtumelious ac-
 tion, speech, or behauiour, in others repugnant to their ingenious and toward
 natures, which moueth in them a sudden and well bebecoming blush presented
 from a certaine feare of shame, disgrace, or turpitude, being the very badge of
 honestie, which is dispersed & opened by the force of their modest spirits. And
 hence is it that *Plato* in his dialogue of temperance citeth or faineth a saying of
Critias to *Charmides*, a beautifull young man disputing with him concerning a
 medicine or charme for the headach, That tēperance would cure that disease,
 with all grieuances of the body likewise: and demāding of *Charmides*, whether **K**
 he were possessed of that medicine, *Plato* faineth, *Genas eius rubore suffusus gra-*
Plato, lib. 20. *riorē specie ostēdisse, pudorē etenim eam asarē decuisse.* This affectiō albeit Philoso-
Charmides siue
de temp. phers do not call a vertue, yet is annexed therunto. Whēce it was, that *Diogenes*
 termed it the tincture of vertue, proceeding frō thēce & frō a natieue ingenuity;
 modestie being a *decent seemlinefse & good order in al things*, cōuerfeth in mode-
 rating

A rating the perturbations and motions of the mind, by the retaining of a concordance or harmonie, quieting and calming all humane actions, so that nothing vnfit or immodest be done or spoken: nothing in hatred, malice, affection, lust, ambition, arrogancie, or other such violent passions and distractions of the spirit.

The parts of modestie be lowlinesse or humilitie; so forceably depressing insolence, that by how much the more worthie men bee, so much the more humble they may shew themselves. Which lesson our Sauour *Christ* commaunded vs to learne of him, considering, that in vs, as of our selues, nothing can be decent or commendable, but onely proceeding from the precious gift of God. This lesson teacheth vs the fruition of that Oracle, *Nosce teipsum*; when a man doth not attribute any goodnesse to himselfe, but acknowledgeth, that hee receiued the same out of the fountaine of all bountie from aboue.

The second part of modestie should seeme to be the desire to learne and be taught: which is scene in men, that recognizing their ignorance, are studious and desirous of instruction.

The third part of modestie doth speciously declare it selfe in pleasantnesse of speech, alacritie, comitie, and affabilitie. This ought to bee well knowne and practised by wise courtiers: for these qualities grace them amongst persons of the best qualitie: And this is reputed a kind of moderate and well tasting vrbانيت; when in speech and answers men auoid bitterness, and salt taunting, hardly set on; and more than indifferently poudered, in respect of the times, places, and persons. Let them therefore alwayes obserue a certaine honest moderation, delaying, or rather perfectly purging all the mentall perturbations with a pleasant medicine of words and cheerefulnesse. This therefore should be the scope of all speech: In serious matters to shew seueritie; in pleasant discourses festiuitie; regarding, that our tongues bewray not any corruption of manners, which staine is specially noted in those that either contumeliously, ridiculously, slanderously, seuerely, or raylingly back-bite any persons. Likewise it is as vndecent and intemperate, that any man should praise himselfe; which as a foolish trumpet soundeth out his owne disgrace and folly to wise men.

The fourth and last part is moderation in apparrell, and in other corporall ornaments; being the mediocritie betwixt riotous curiositie and slouencie: shewing, that all garments should be neat fit for the body, and agreeable to the sex which should weare them: in worth and fashion correspondent to the state, substance, age, place, time, birth, and honest custome of those persons which vse them. To conclude therefore I say, that Temperance is a vertue, than which nothing is more powerfull, towards the repressing of affections; nothing more fit for the good composition and confirmation of mens manners; nothing more effectually towards the attainment of Gods fauour, that can either be deuised or spoken: and certainly, there is not any thing good in the whole course of mans life, which may not bee reduced vnto Temperance, as to the centre or spring of humane happinesse.

Lib. 3. Trif.

It followeth needfully, that I speake somewhat of intemperance, and of the oppositions to these foresaid good parts. Intemperance therefore according to *Cicero*, is such a kind of obedience vnto lusts, meere repugnant to the right mind, and vnto all prescription of reason, that the priuate desires can neither be gouerned nor contained in any moderation; and thereof are two parts: one which excessiue nuzzleth it selfe in delicacie, and another which doth not. By violence of the first, men vnreasonably gallop into the perillous gulfe of pleasures, by spurring vpon their libidinous appetites against reason: That other, which is called *auaritia*, is a kind of saluage or sencelesse hardnesse or dulnesse in despising all pleasures, honest and dishonest whatsoeuer. Of which temper wee shall not in this our age find many; howbeit, certaine auaricious misers (which haue no sence nor feeling inwardly) doe some deale encline to that humour. This is a most pernicious disease of the mind, noysome to him that is so affected, and most dangerous vnto them that conuerse with people of that strange disposition. Incontinence being opposite to the first part of temperance, is seene in riot, luxurie, and drunkennesse: vpon which, infinite sorts of diseases are bred; blunting the sharpenesse of reason, and dulling the wits edge; making persons altogether vnfit for the performance of any noble Offices. And often haue I wondered, that our nation breathing in such a temperate climate, should so much encline to that Dutch distemperature of drunkennesse, which *Seneca* termeth *Voluntariam insaniam*. For thereby nature is weakened and corrupted, the keene edge of the best vnderstanding rebated, wrath without reason kindled, lust without measure incensed, secrets of greatest moment disclosed, words to particular persons, and sometimes to the Commonwealth, offense vnto all. Wonder it is therefore, why men should voluntarily drowne themselves in excessse; a little is comfortable, and that Prouerbe, *Nequid nimis*, very medicinable, if it can be willingly digested. Rapacitie being adiunct to incontinence, hurteth many, proceeding from riot and immeasurable expence: when princes and noble persons impose grieuous burthens vpon their subiects and tenants, to maintaine that excessse; or when they put cruell and vniust meanes in execution, to take away mens goods by strong hand or hypocriticall violence vnder the robe of iustice. Against gentlenesse, being the second part of temperance, the deuouring fire, vengeance, or crueltie, standeth opposite: Adiunct thereto, mercilesse, or (as it were) steeled inmanitic. Such are those which tyrannize ouer captiues, persons prostrated; nay, such will not spare the dead, but like wilde beastes feede vpon them with the fangues of malicious and venomous rancour.

Opposite to mercie (which is the adiunct of Clemencie) standeth lenti-
tude, or foolish pitie, being the part of a blockish magistrate, as I will partly
note in the Morals of my third booke. But crueltie doth not only resist tem-
perance & iustice, but fortitude also, which I shall also manifest in the Morals of
my fourth booke.

Against modestie (which is the third and last part of temperance) con-
tinuously stand impudencie, being a most detestable vice in the presence of
God, or of all good men, which contemneth or neglecteth all decencie, with
ho-

A honestie of life, opening a large and easie way to vicious conuersation, void of all feare and shame. Also Pride and Arrogancie (which withstand humiliation) is another opposite rotten member; whereby men in a blind loue of themselves imagine more excellent parts and perfections contained in them than are, and arrogating vertues beyond their apprehension and practise: This may be called a vaine, insolent, and foolish ostentation: a vice rise in many princes courts, and proper to flatterers, braggarts, and buffones.

Carelesnesse and negligence likewise, beeing the qualities of sluggish dolts, and persons assotted with curiositie, (which is the inordinate diligence or desire to learne arts vnprofitable, euill, and vnnecessarie) stand opposed vnto the true studies of learning: semblably, scurulous prating, and vsauourie girding, (such as parasites, stage-players, and other giddie-headed Mimickes vse, according vnto the opinion of *Aristotle*) opposite-ly stand against ciuile and ingenuous speech, discourse, and affabilitie. Lib. 2. & 4. ad Nichomachum. Howbeit, the wittie, well seasoned, and discreet sayings of prudent and sage persons, with a decent alacritie, which minister no cause of offence, (but may bee with reasonable and plausible modestie conuerted) is very commendable and praise-worthie. For such as abhorre ieasting, are deemed dull, clownish, vsociable, and Stoicall after a fashion. Which sort

C of people, to toward and ingenuous persons is more odious than the bitter Buffone.

There is likewise another sort of people, which in countenance, speech, action, gate, and gesture, grossely counterfeit a kind of grauitie, to conceale their foolishnesse: whose adulterate sapience to men of sound iudgement is most absurd and ridiculous; and others which in princes courts (to make the nobler sort laugh) practise (though not so cunningly) the parts of *Tarleton*: by simulation deeming in themselves, how that shew will bee thought somewhat contrarie vnto their owne natures, which are more than halfe the same: and these fellowes at vnawares palpably fall into

D some foolish and odious affectation of ciuilitie: whereas (indeede) in them there is not any condition verely vertuous, or constant. Others which are not, and yet would seeme ciuile (adulterating their arrogant natures, with the meere colours of grauitie) flubber it vp most improperly and odiously.

Howbeit, these qualities (though herein somewhat I haue digressed from the subiect of my matter) are more fit for the knowledge of Palladines and Courtiers, which I referre to *Balsasar Castiglion*, and *Duro di Pascolo*, in their discourses vpon Court-ship: Onely this which *Plato* ci-
reth in the person of *Socrates*, our outside and inside must bee the same in all.

E *Contendendum est enim potius vt sub legitimis institutis temperati effici-
amur, quam vt sub dialecticis rationibus de Temperantia disputemus: quando-
quidem summa quadam difficultate cognoscitur; & cognita sine usu non modo
nihil prosunt, sed & obsunt quamplurimum: quodque magis est nisi re ipsa possi-
deatur, perfecte cognosci nequit, &c.* Plat. lib. 30.

The fourth and last extreame of Modestie doth consist in excessse of apparel, garments, and other ornaments of the bodie, when they bee made onely for vaine ostentation of the mind : which hath beene a notable imputation, wherewith all our English men, more than any nation of the world, haue beene shamefully branded amongst forerunners for their disguised fashions, and sumptuous habiliments beyond the bounds of prudence, moderation, or habilitie : some women after a preposterous fashion, attired like men in dubblets; and some men like women in petticoates. This excessse hath so generally disperfed it selfe in our nation, that by their exterior new-fangled robes the wisest of our aduersaries or emulators in forraine parts haue past their iudgements of our giddie minds and vnconstant behauiours, inwardly saying, That in wearing Dutch hats with French feathers, French dubblets and colletts after the custome of Spaine, Spanish hose, and rapiers of Valentia, Turkish coates, Italian cloakes, and perfumes, with such like; wee likewise had stolne the faults and excessses of those countreyes which wee did imitate naturally. Besides, what a shame was it for vs to bee noted with this exorbitate excessse, that base tailliers, and others which worke as hirelings, aspiring to that abominable and vndecent singularitie, should equall themselves in the cost and fashion of their attire, with some of the greatest Barons in this land : a fault not to bee imputed vnto the lawes, for those are precise and strict in such comely considerations; but in the dissolute and intemperate affections of people, which in steed of a little libertie, make a licence at large, tyrannizing vpon the princes gentle disposition and lenitie. Hence was it, that the nobilitie to distinguish themselves by this outward appoynt of their degrees and riches from the rascall rabble of base ruffians, were driuen to most extreame charge, that they might make a difference of themselves from them equiuallent in proportion. Which course had the prince then kept, answerable in her state about some Ladies and others in the like analogie : then might shee with ease haue consumed the vnspokeable masse of Treasure. By this meane the substance of other tailliers, craftsmen, and mechanical fellows was dayly more encreased, and the fortunes of our gentlemen exhausted. Which leprosie did in short time so spread it selfe through this nation that diuers liuings of auntient demesne and inheritance which haue continued in succession from manie grandfathers of one race did hang in tailliers shops and were piled vp in the Persian and Spanish merchants coffers. This emulation and excessse hauing further preuailed, grew to such outrage, that when proper maintenance fayled in some to support such riot, they violently or secretly tooke from others to supply the same : which hath beene the demolition and confusion of many noble families and persons, lately great in worldly reputation : others in a priuate want, purchased by their owne intollerable profusion, haue perished in their pestilent practises, tending to the common spoyle, for satisfaction of their insatiable appetites : *Semper etenim in ciuitate quibus opes nulla sunt bonis inuidens, malos extollunt, vetera odere, noua exoptant; inopia suarum rerum mutari omnia student.*

A *Student*. This profusion therefore next to the vice of gluttonous surfeit, ought principally to bee restrained by wise and moderate princes and noblemen : for it drayneth their treasure , enfeebling that true heroicall spirit of their minds, either adding to their pride (vnto which people commonly that delight in such gay things , are most subiect) or mollifying and deprauing their liberrall natures and conditions with lust and ouer-delicate effeminacie.

But thus much in breefe as I could, expressing the adiuncts and members of Temperance, and of her opposites , subalternately respecting the purse : now somewhat concerning the beneficence and liberalitie which be-

B fitteth potentates.

It is not thought fit, that princes should precisely stand at vtterance with true liberalitie beeing of it selfe meere vertuous : but that they shunne a generall largesse or profusion rather, which most Kings affect most in the beginning of their reignes, considering that there are many (whose seruices hauing long expected recompence) which should bee seasoned and encouraged in their faithfulness and honesties with some secret taste of royall Munificence.

C This consideration in some proceedeth out of a magnificent heart, most liberally garnished with true vertues ; and in others, from ambition, and a vaine glorious desire of somewhat more than ordinarie, cunningly couched in their owne heads. Princes therefore shall so much, or more bee warned and take heede of this excesse then of avarice after a sort, least by such bestowing, the force of beneficence be deminished according to *Cicero officiorum* 3.

Solus sum est quod libens et facias, curare ut id diutius facere non possis, For how can a man properly teame that a benefite bestowed which is a meere malice to the bestower ; and hence is that Prouerbe of *Huius* fitted to this purpose, *Benefacta male locata male facta arbitror*. Yet if God haue so provided that a Prince must surely fall into the choise of those two damnable extreames (both which all Princes should hold detestable as snakes) of the

D two mischiefes, I would hee rather did encline to couetise : for wealth giueth some shaddow to shame : albeit our wise men and all Philosophers consent that it is dishonestie ; but after rapacitie , which is engendered out of the putrifaction of prodigalitie, ragged infamie doth attend with an almes basket. Neither is it entended, that princes should tie such a Gordian knot vpon their purse, as nothing may without *Alexanders* resolution and necessitie loose the same, but that they may with moderation and vpon good cause exceede rather in liberalitie : which the seldomer vfed, may be the richer when it happeneth : and if it come often, then so much the shorter and sweeter.

E There is another fashion of Liberalitie peculiar to princes, which may bee teamed a beneficence : and this branch of vertue grafted, is in the very top of iustice : for in all Common-weales, of the soundest institution, there are alwayes some capitall crimes and forfeitures, out of the

which a wise prince in his iustice, may by good discretion very commendably giue a pleasing tast of his liberalitie to persons vertuous and of desert, according to their qualities, that good men may liue by the fall of euill members, and not that bad people may be made worse by the spoyles of honest men, vnto whome the dignities and possessions of such as are worthely rooted out for their wickednesse, may be collated. By which kind of beneficence he greatly magnifieth himselfe. First, in beeing honoured for his iustice against offendours: secondly, by preferring persons noted for their worthinesse; thirdly, with his care had of the Commonwealth, which hee ciuilizeth and secureth by the extirpation of such malefactors: fourthly, through giuing heart and courage to men of qualitie, so to demaine themselves by profitable studies and vertuous liuing, that they may stand in the like grace: fifthly, by taking away from the people all opinion of couetousnesse in himselfe, when hee reserueth not any benefite to his priuate vse, but is seene to doe it in iustice, without any desire of hauing. Lastly, by not extenuating his proper faculties in such bestowing. Thus shall others bee satisfied, his owne power strengthened, and his priuate treasure spared. Which kind of beneficence, king *Henry* the eight vsed (when the Chaunteries and religious houses, to the value of two hundred pounds yearly, and vnder, with all lands and goods belonging them, were by Parliament graunted vnto him in the seuen and twentieth yeare of his raigne) by bestowing those lands vpon the speciall gentlemen in euery Shire, where they were dissolued, more manifesting a good conscience, than any couetousnesse in the cause. And hence was it, that the commotions in *Lincolne Shire*, *Yorke Shire*, and in other parts of this Realme, vnder the colour of a dislike, vpon a new size of Subsidie to beleued, were so quickly quieted by the gentlemen, principall heads in those disturbed parts, whose very countenance amated the seditious commons, which once and againe stirred to disturbance and subuersion of the present quiet; beeing (as it was thought) first kindled at the fire, which *M. Thomas Cromwell*, then Lord priuie Seale, and Vicegerent generall of the Spiritualities, brought with him, to make desolate those houses, and all other Abbeyes, which were soone after dissolued.

For Treasurers of princes, noble men, and priuate persons, by their gifts to gaine a good opinion amongst good men of their true liberalitie, these three cautions are required: First, a respect vnto the time; secondly, to the quantitie; thirdly, to the person: when, how much, and vpon whome they will bestow: the time limited, when it may stand them in most steed which bee rewarded, not preiudicing others to maintaine the same, according to the saying of *Cicero*, *Ab hoc genere largitionis, ut alijs detur alijs auferatur abe-runt ij qui rempub. tuebuntur*: As in graunting of Monopolies to the pleasure of some one man, by the preiudicing of a multitude, which is very dangerous: as also when one rich marchant is suffered to ingrosse some one whole commoditie into his owne hands. As it is written of a craftie *Syri-lian*; who with money that was none of his owne, but lent vnto him as in trust,

- A** trust to bee restored, vpon demaund bought all the yron out of the yron-mongers shops in *Syracusa* : and when marchants had from diuers places repaired to that citie, this Ingrosser furnished them with that commoditie, not greatly raising the price thereof : yet so, that for the disbursement of fiftie talents hee gayned an hundred ; which was a double vse : for a Talent *Atticke* amounted to sixe hundred crownes : in so much, as by bestowing thirtie thousand crownes, he gained cleere threescore thousand, and had a quicke returne of his money. But the bruit hereof beeing brought vnto the tyrant *Dionysius* ; albeit the money was not taken from him, (which many miserable tyrants would haue done) yet was hee banished from *Syracusa* . Which punishment was so much the lesse, by how much the more that tyrant was taught by the like precedent.

- These & such like Monopolies (where many busineses are handled for the Commonwealth) are onely fit for princes, and not to be diuolued or vnaduisedly bestowed vpon marchants or other subiects : forsomuch as they procure a generall malice of the people for a priuat mans thanks vnto the prince : and some princes get not so much as thanks. The quantitie likewise ought to be measured by the rule of their owne faculties which bestow them : the persons vpon whome it is bestowed respected according to their worth and qualitie, taking good heed that they benefit not their friends by preiudicing strangers, or oppresse any to maintaine the report of their liberalitie, breaking that bubble of vaine glorie soone puffed vp with emptinesse, which allureth babes and fooles into the bottomlesse waues of confusion : *Suum namque cuique in Cic. Off. 3. commodum ferendum est potius, quam alterius commodum detrahendum.* In giuing therefore, respects are had vnto the qualities of those persons benefited, not to their fortunes, *Melius est enim apud bonos quam apud fortunatos beneficium collari* *off. 2.* (saith *Cicero*) : all eminent tokens of good knowledge and vertues in people must be cherished and encouraged with beneficence : such as loue them much, should be rewarded with much, which is intended by the interior and not any exterior speech, as for meere affection onely, not benefiting flatterers which intirely loue for lucre, considering how the cares of this fraile honour with the deceitfulnesse of riches & fleshly lusts, enter the thoughts of such *Sicophants* possessing their hearts, *and choaking the diuine grace within them which is made vnfruitfull* : also they that by such deceit seeke riches, vndoubtedly fall into temptations, snares, and into manie foolish and noisome lusts, which *drawne men in perdition.* *Mark. cap. 4.*

- They therefore that in giuing vse these respects, resemble fruitfull grounds, yeelding much more graine than they receiued ; when in a charitable respect and for necessitie sake some bee rewarded, that haue not any manifest tokens of desert or vertue requiring it : which in such good and sound discretion confoundeth melodiously with the giuers vertues and dignities. Yet for so much as the number of people craving and wanting is infinite ; reliefe and preferment must extend in speciall to their owne countrey men, nationals, friends, and fellowes : some of which are wooen with a resemblance in fashions, manners and conditions, others with benefites and gracious offers

2u comur. Cas.

mutually done and receiued. Which obseruation likewise seemeth in *Salust*, F
 who writeth, That *Vbi Romani virtute pericula propulerant, socijs atque amicis auxilia portabant, magisque dandis quàm accipiendis beneficijs amicitias parabant.*

Ad Caf. de Rep.
ordinand.

Job, Bod. de Rep.

Malicious parasites and picke-thanks, the canker and rust of iust honour and riches, must bee blotted out of the bookes of your beneficence, as the most vngratefull vipers of nobilitie: for if they find your inclination to their subtilities, then will they neuer cease, like a Northeast wind, till they haue blasted all before them, both stocke and reputation. *Malitia namque pramijs excercetur; ubi ea dempseris nemo omnium gratiso malus est.* By these meanes likewise may circumspect princes aucupate the seruices of G
 informers, tale-bearers, delators, and promotors; not by proposing the liuings and goods of condemned persons vnto them for reward; but by feeding them onely with money, *Ne pradiorum quarendorum propofusa spe ad calumniandum impellantur: sui autem delatoribus premia eripiantur, vix est ut ulla peccatorum ultio sequatur.* Wee haue here in this our Commonwealth much like order obserued: as that any man preferring iust information against priuate persons, transgressing the statutes penall, shall haue for his meed halfe the forfeiture and penaltie limited: which if in other matters capital, and of more moment, it were permitted; would bee a sure and vn-doubted meanes, to reſtraine many crimes, and hainous transgressions of H
 people.

There is likewise a kind of Liberalitie most expedient, which *Cicero* calleth beneficence; being as it were a willing habite, or inclination, mouing men to doe good. This goodnesse hee defineth by the similitude of them which will not reſtraine the course of a riuer freely running, as not maliciously crossing anothers preferment, when it withdraweth not one mite from their owne, but further, or aduaunce it rather. The contrarie to which is very rife in euery princes court at this day. Likewise it is held a kind of Liberalitie, to giue sound and honest counsell from a well-willing heart to the best of their cunning, vnto such as will consult with them: this I
 is a Liberalitie from a faithfull Counsellour, peculiar vnto his prince and countrey: which faithfulnessse ought mutually to bee recompenced vnto him by the prince with honour and dignities: for wee read it in the Psalmes of that blessed Prophet: *Dilige bonum seruum ut animam tuam, & tracta eum ut fratrem tuum.* Good Princes therefore will shew their beneficence vnto good Counsellors, being absent, present, aline, or dead: even in aduauncing their children to those offices after them, if they bee found worthy. Which truly royall beneficence hath wooon so many good counsellours hearts, that not onely they haue left all their lands and possessions at their death vnto the king; but some of them haue most ioyfully sacrificed their K
 liues for his safetie. The third strayne of beneficence, is by similitude of him that giueth light vnto the torch of another from his owne: for this is a neighbourly beneficence, not hindering his owne, in lending helpe vnto friendes and countrey men. Which kinde of honest
 lending

A lending and dutifull repayment is very needfull and commodious, being a true vertuous braunch of Liberalitie, as is witnessed by that royall Psalmist, *Vir iustus liberalis est & mutuum dat*; declaring, that lending is a member of Liberalitie; which vndoubtedly tenderth to the conseruation of humane societie.

Thus much (least I should wearie my selfe or the Reader with matters too vulgar and generally knowne) I thinke sufficient for this Office. Howbeit, there are many things which I would and may not set downe: and much also which I cannot, though I would most gladly; because I want meanes to attaine vnto the knowledge of some speciall secrets in this Of-

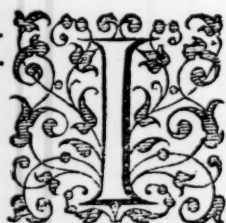
B fice of Treasurers: howbeit, finding my force vnworthie such mysteries, I rest well satisfied with these ordinarie rules; referring my selfe to some things, which (as occasion shall offer in this Booke ensuing) do subalternatly respect it.

Finis Libri Primi.



The second Booke of Offices.

Office of Se-
cret Counsell-
ors,



IT is a most chargeable burthen, heauily leaning on princely shoulders, to gouerne by the compasse of sapience, to minister iustice with equabilitie, to bridle the boldnesse of vice, to giue a liuely spirit to the desire of vertue, to maintaine a due proportion in all Offices, and to win the constant loue of a Commonwealth with excellent prudence and desert: yet without these either in the prince, in him that counselleth, or in them both, no Commonwealth can flourish: for the natures of mens wits are threefold; that which is principall and sacred, can out of his owne iudgement (without assistance) aduise and execute soundly, with all commendable facilitie: the second dealeth wisely by direction: the third can doe neither; the first excellent in it selfe, the second laudable by the first, the last vnprofitable in all. If therefore the prince haue this principall gift, then is hee the Sunne to those staires of his Counsell, which giue a reasonable light from his influence; being a sweet perfection of goodnesse in any Commonwealth. And if his Counsellours haue that diuine spirit of Sapience in themselves by Gods ordinance, for the weale of his people, where the prince hath this second facultie, to be directed or perswaded by them; yet is that notwithstanding a strong, sufficient, and good state: But if both the Prince and his Counsell hold the substance of all good wisedome in themselves wisely to consult and direct, being willing also to be counselled and directed in wisedome, without doubt that dominion will flourish and amplifie. Contrarily, what a wretched and ruinous estate, which faileth both in the prince, and in his counsell? As when God had purposed to destroy the state of *Israel*, he threatened to that nation, how children should beare their scepter, and feeble persons direct their publicke counsels. Which kind of feeblenesse is attributed not vnaptly to foolish and ambitious counsellors, whom *Salust* in one Oration to *Caius Iulius Caesar* resemblenth vn- to the superfluous ballast of a ship, which as things vnprofitable, *minimique* *precij* (vpon the suddaine violence of any tempest) the masters and Officers, (being puzzled and in distresse) hoise first ouer board. Neither can it serue, that the prince haue all (which may be required) in himselfe onely; but that they which must ayde him in administration of his estate bee furnished with com-

The second Booke of Offices.

24

- A** competent knowledge also: for as it sufficeth not, to keepe the bodie in health by withdrawing all euill humors and infirmities from the heale, vntlesse the heart, with other principall and inward members of the bodie, bee seemblably with due correspondencie attempered in their seuerall functions: so doth it not accord, that the king being absolute in his parts onely, the state also should be safe, if his *Senatours* doe not by some diligent diligence and proportion of vertues answerable, knit all up in perfection: For what is hee that can consult and dispatch many serious causes at once and absolutely without helpe? Suppose him more sound in wisdom and knowledge than *Salomon*, or stronger by three degrees than *Hercules*; yet doth experience in nature teach vs, that a necessarie necessitie requireth this election of approoued good Counsellors, without which ayde no prince can support the burthen of a kingdome: neither can his owne outward senses properly performe those inward Offices, which are required towards the ruling of a multitude: Besides, according with *Tacitus*, *No man is so naturally prompt, or hath that dexteritie to deale in his owne cause, which he shall find in himselfe, solliciting for another.* And in another place, *Grauiissimi principis labores quies orbem terra capeſſit egeſt adminiculis*: The most serious labours of a prince (by which hee winneth the whole earth) stand in need of helpe. For they to whom much businesse and many people are committed, haue much need of counsell.

- C** Euery good Prince which did formerly gouerne, was attended with as many Counsellors, as he was with eyes, eares, and hands: *Caius Caesar* with *Quintus Padius* and *Cornelius Balbus*; *Augustus* with *Mecenas* and *Agrippa*; *Adrianus* with *Celsus*, *Sulpius*, and *Neratus*; *Marcus Antoninus* with *Seuola*, *Murianus*, and *Volatianus*; *Seuerus* with *Papinianus*. And to be shewt, our late Princes of most fortunate and blessed memorie, Queene *Elizabeth*, and your Maiestie, with Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Sir *Iohn Cheeke*, Sir *Francis Walsingham*, *William Lord Burghley*, *Robert Earle of Leycester*, *Robert Cecyll Earle of Salisbury*, Sir *Tho. Egerton Lord Esmere* and Chancellor, Sir *Tho. Sackuylle Earle of Dorset* now Lord Treasurer, with diuerse others. And hence is it, that *Cicero* noteth, *Not with swiftnesse and bodily strength great matters are ordered, but with counsell and authoritie.* Likewise *Salust*, *With much reading and hearing I find, that all Nations haue bene prosperous, so long as iust counsell preuailed with them: but being once with partialitie, feare, and pleasure corrupted, presently their wealth wasted, their Empire vanished, and slavery tyrannized vpon them.* And as *Dionysius Halicarnassanus* writeth, the cause why Rome so long flourished, was, *That the gouernours of the Empire were directed by Counsels of the Senate, not following their owne opinions: for by the assembly of wise Counsellors, the princes wisdom is encreased.* As *Capitolinus* writeth: *Bonus fit si bonis amicis utatur*: That Prince which maketh vse of good friends, is made a good Prince. By their Counsels likewise faith *Orho* the Emperour in *Tacitus* is the goodnesse and wisdom of princes opened: also *Salust* calleth, *Prosperitatem regis famam Consiliarij*: The kings prosperitie to depend vpon the Counsellors fame: and so by good inuersion, the same

E

of

of a Counsellour to depend vpon the kings prosperitie. But it is needlesse to stand so much vpon the necessitie thereof, being so well knowne to the weakest iudgement.

A Counsell therefore, according to *Bodin*, is a lawfull congregation or assembly of choise persons, which aduise the king in times of peace and warre how to gouerne the Commonwealth: and as *Furia Ceriolo* defineth them Counsellors are apt persons chosen for fit businesse, in whom there is required good suffigencie towards the administration of all matters debated in Counsels. *Demosthenes* therefore calleth consultation, *The chapter and circumstance, the base of all vertues.*

I will particularly speake in my third booke of Offices somewhat concerning the Councils of England: and hauing in these Offices occasion generally to touch the secret counsels of a state also, I will breifely write what I haue in part gathered concerning the strict and priuat counsell of France, omitting the counsell at large (which is called the Grand Counsell) consisting vpon the L. Chauncellour to whom with the maisters of the Requests for their more ease and expedition in publicke businesse (with which they formerly were much entangled) king *Charles* the eight added seuentene counsellors spirituall and temporall. After whom his succesor *Lewes* the 12 super-added one prelate and two more counsellours fulfilling the number of 20 besides two secretaries, whereof one did serue in place of an actuarie: it being further ordayned, that these should keepe six moneths continually together in counsell betwixt seuen and ten in the forenoone and after dinner betwixt three and fve houres. This Senate therefore (which the French king doth by peculiar demonstration call his own counsell from which by the edict of *Philip le beau* no persons of that Realme can appeale, because the king himselfe which acknowledgeth no superiour in his dominions vnder God, is the chiefe thereof) conuerseth in all publicke affaires of the Commonwealth, respecting the king and gouernment, which is aduised and directed thereby. Albeit the king be iudge of this Counsell, and of the Parliament, yet is hee subiect to the laues thereof. *Nam Parliamentis secundum deum rex solus Imperat, qui absens aq̃e in Parliamenti ac in priuati Consilij decretis loquitur:* For (as a God) the king himselfe only ruleth in the Parliaments: who (though hee bee not present in the Sessions) yet hath his voyce royall assenting or dissenting both in the Parliaments and priuate Counsels of state: Albeit the Parliamentall iurisdiction surpasseth this Counsell. Neither is it permitted, that any President, Marshall, or other principall magistrate shall (during the time of his authoritie) retaine his place, or giue a voice in that Office; but is sequestred or suspended from entermeddling in those secret consultations vpon very reasonable and needefull respects: because certaine expostulations may be concerning some negligent, indirect, or corrupt dealings in their places otherwise. In this Counsell king *Charles* the eight instituted, that the Lord Chauncelor should bee present, who (being directed by the true rule of Iustice, should take the rites and suffrages of those other Counsellors by iust number in any serious causes. King *Philip le Longe* ordained of this

*Vinc. Lupande
May. Francia.*

*Ioh. Tiltus in
Com. de Regum
Gall.*

- A** this Counsell twentie Noblemen : whereof six were of the blood, two Marshalls, the Archbishop of Rhoane, the Bishop of S. *Malo*, with the Chauncellor of Fraunce, and nine others. These had the determining of all great causes, ordering (as in their wisdomes was thought fit) the families of the King, of his Queene, and of his children : also to take account each moneth of the Treasurers, and to reforme any thing which needed helpe in that Office. In which (as in our Counsell chamber of England) there is a register or Diarie booke kept of all speciall causes there handled and debated, which deserue monument. And this Counsell is therefore fitly called the Commonwealths heart; wherein the knowledge and vnderstanding is placed, beeing properly tearmed, *Dux & Imperator vitæ mortalium* : The Captaine and Commaunder of mortall mens liues. For those are the chiefe Morall faculties of the mind; vnto which euen as the bodie by obedience is bound, so seembly should the people dutifully subiect themselues to this Aristocraticall Senate. And therefore that extreame & straine of prudence, is in extremities permitted to this Counsell onely, because they can make best vse of it, finding (in their prudent foresight) when and vpon what occasions for the Commonwealth to put the same in execution, as *Salust* in one of his Orations: *Patres consilio valere debent, populo superuacanea est calliditas*. The Fathers and Senatours should exceed and preuaile in their Counsell : Calliditie becommeth not the
- C** Commonaltie. Them therefore that serue in such Office, it behoueth to be very well skilled in princely cunning, being with diligence employed in affaires of state, and politicke matters, narrowly respecting gouernment. This Counsell especially conuerseth in ciuile causes; as in punishing of Rulers, Deputies, Iustices of peace, Generals of armies, Coronels, priuat Captaines, inferior Countessors of the prince ciuile or martiall, concerning their iust dealing or iniquitie in execution of their Offices. In whose doome it resteth, whether they shall bee discharged or retained in their places, which persons are to be thought seruiceable, & which nor. This Counsell likewise prouideth, that there be no falshood
- D** in paying of wages and prouision for victuall vsed by the treasurers & prouant masters in campe or garrison. It hath in like sort a regard limited vnto the treasurers and officers of the prince his great receit, to whom the collection and conseruation thereof remaineth : but the dispensation and imployment only resteth in the command of this Counsell, which likewise hath in trust the consideration of all weightie treaties of peace betwixt their people and other nations, of leagues, amities, commerce & entercourse, of militarie complots, confederacies, and actions, and of dispatching away well instructed embassadours with any complementarie tearmes of beneuolence towards forren princes or states, really or verbally to be professed or coloured : to deliberate and resolute
- E** by what meanes, in how short time, and whether in priuate or publicly such businesse should bee managed : with some other intricacies of more importance : of which here I may not take any notice; neither (if I could) can it bee thought fit that I should open them, being only reserued as mysteries peculiar to this which the prince calleth his owne Counsell.

Those secrets of a State, which commonly fore beyond the vulgar apprehension, being certainer rules, or as it were cabals or glorious government and successe both in peace and warre (apprehensible to few secret Counsellors in some Commonweales, which either languish or wax ynfortunate) are locked vp in foure generall rules: First, in the congregation of wise magistrates, including the priuat Counsell: These vpon importune causes in matters of highest consequence (that cannot otherwise bee remedied, but by meanes most necessarie to bee concealed) knit vp the prudence of their resolutions in sinuous knots and serpentine wreathes of mysticall and intricate meanes, and instruments, fetching in their curious machinations and denises with bait, hooke, and line, for any graue purpose beyond ordinarie reason. G
The second is in the maiestie of State, which includeth euery prince his priuate power with the strength of his wisdom and fortitude, in allies, monies, confederates, inuasions and euasions, in all glorious hazards and aduentures. In seeking certainly to learne out those mysteries, the vulgar are commonly deceived: for it is so shadowed, as not all princes are well acquainted with their owne force, and how faire their armes may by meanes sufficiently stretch: onely some few very prudent and industrious Counsellors, of grauest and most iudicious obseruation, are throughly well acquainted withall. The third consisteth in iudgements: wherein vpon the decision and appendance of some weightie matters (respecting the common quiet and securitie by certaine mysticall circumstances in handling) strange Oracles, not apprehensible by vulgar sence, are oftentimes closed: as by suffering a mischiefe rather than an inconuenience, and by breaking off a leg or arme, to saue the best ioynt from perishing. The fourth concludeth in the warie lenying of warre, in the skilfull exercising, leading, and encouraging of souldiors vpon seruices vnto them vnknowne, and tending to the most renowne, protection, and augmentation of their countrey; which entirely dependeth vpon stratagemes of warre, deuised and executed by the Commaunder his noble and industrious sagacitie and secrecie; and in them many vinties are the weales and safeties of puissant kings and kingdoms wholly contained. H

In choise of this most honourable Senate it is very needfull, that the prince shew great prudence and discretion: as in that sufficiencie which must serue the mature expedition of all causes committed to the administration thereof: so that Election (*being as it were a franke action of the mind, which in choise of good things accepteth the best, and in doubtfull evils auoideth the worse*) wholly belongeth the prince. Likewise noble industrie (*being a ceaselesse and sincere cogitation, and mentall lucubration for the iust and inuiolable honour of his Prince and of the Commonwealth*) is the true cognisance of a good Counsellor: and these two qualities in them both are apparant and true tokens of both their wisdomes. The worthiest choise that a Prince can make for such a Senate, is out of the true nobilitie, which vnder him should gouerne and amplifie the Commonwealth: I meane principally those that are notable and approoued for their vertues and honour, encountering neerely with the dignities of their blood and families: such as flie not into the palaces of a Commonwealth by the I
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the

- A** the caseiments of their couetise, with the lazie wings of their wealth, but enter the triumphant port of honour, marshalled by their conspicuous vertues: Very noble was that sacred institution of *S. Louis* and *Charles the fifth*, French kings, which by their speciall edicts cautioned, that in their dominions no magistracies or Offices might bee sold and bought, but frankly bestowed vpon prudent, learned, continent, and honest persons, to the best of their good fame and skill respectiue: for such dinundation of dignities (as *Heliogabalus* and *Vespasianus* used, and which was by the iust Emperour *Alexander Seuerus* refused) is most corrupt, odious, and pestilent in any Commonwealth, according to *M. Bodin* in his booke of Commonwealth: *In omni genere ciuitatum turpissima ac perniciosissima honorum ac premiorum (qua virtuti debentur) mercatura*: In all sorts of cities, the marchandize of honours and rewards which are due to vertue, is most foule and pernicious. For what more dishonour in any state can bee found, than when honours and dignities are vnworthily distributed? *Iacet etenim & sordescit reipub. gloria cum indignis honores tribuuntur*: *Ioh. Bodin.* For the glory of euery such Commonwealth (where honours are vnworthily distributed) is throwne downe and defaced. Such vertuous and worthie Counsellors therefore by the princes sacred discretion (as it is in his Maiesties Realmes of England and Scotland) may be chosen out of those Principalities or Provinces which bow to his scepter. For if wise men of approoued goodnesse and sufficiencie for that place find themselves and all of their nation exempted from this honourable societie, it is vspeakeable, how contemptuously they will stomacke it, thinking not without some ground, that they be not respected but suspected. And from hence (though by misprision they smother vp their rancour for a season, yet hauing attained some maturitie; malice, dangerous and odious conspiracies and machinations, with inductions of forren princes, breake forth imediately: raising rebellions, and arming subiects against their naturall Soueraignes. *Ex rebus namque leuissimis discordia (ape) nascuntur, qua velut scintilla flammam excitant; ac postremo bellorum ciuiliu Maxima incendia totam reipub. peruadunt*. *Ioh. Bodin.*
- C** *Hyppola cell.*
- D** beginnings are discords many times bred: which euen as little sparkles breake out into flames; so that in conclusion, the greatest fires of ciuile warres take hold of the whole Commonwealth. And therefore it is held for a certaine truth, That nothing so soone moueth discord, as too much partiall distribution of rewards and honours. A prince therefore beeing assisted with Counsellors chosen out of his owne kingdomes, may better and more commodiously prouide against any future calamities. My iudgement is slender, but it may be thought how some discontentment vpon this ground, added to the fedicious fire in Ireland, when those stubborne rebels formerly withstood the proceedings of our late Soueraigne and her Deputies with the Counsell established in that realme. No persons though most prudent (for this is a sure and infallible position) being priuately discontented and ambitious, may safely be chosen into the fellowship of any princes priuat Counsell, but the guides and ringleaders of those Irish rebels were alwaies knowne to be discontented inwardly disturbed and ambitious: therefore the state was well handled in
- that

that point. To conclude vpon this therefore a prince without great impediments and principall remedies medicining that daunger, may not make choice of his secret Counsellors out of one kingdome onely, if hee retaine more principalities than one: because in bestowing all fauour or the greatest part thereof vpon one peculiar people, they grow so proud, that their associates, neighbouring them, stirred vp with indignation, and despiteously repining thereat, with generall maledictions crosse their proceedings: by which meanes commouing sedicious cauls and quartels against them, they sometimes vnder that abhominable pretext may make a way to diuelt their liege Soueraignes, and it hath euer more beene obserued, that the like cases are most desperate, ending in much blood and crueltie. This is also most certaine, that a better choice may be found amongst many good, than out of a bad multitude. When they therefore which are vertuously affected, see their prince like a true patrone or parent rather to studie their generall honour so much, the more readie will they be to make good remonstrance of their duties and honesties; being a principall meane to draw the worthiest of their Nobles and others to Philosophicall and needfull arts and studies: Neither may this choice bee made out of his owne house or court onely; but by diligent inquisition he may learne which are best and most excellent in all prouinces: them vnder some other pretence the prince may send for, hauing their expences in iourney beneuolently defrayed, and according to their sufficiency for that place proceede in Election. By which kind of inquisition the Soueraigne may come to sure knowledge of all the most excellent and worthy persons in his realines. Such as are not chosen of them that were approued (for peraduenture some one or two may supplie the defect in that Counsell) must be with meeknesse, affabilitie, beneficence, great commendation for their vertues, and royall encouragement to perseuerance in the same dismissed. Heerein also deliberation is very requisite, a free pardon and prouision therefore for their securitie should be graunted and proclaimed, as was the auncient custome against the kings of Egypt after their deaths, according to *Diodorus*; which in open accusation either by word or writing can make prooffe of their notable vnworthinesse for that Office: and if any man scandalously lay some notable crimes vnto their charge, which cannot be prooued; hee which so maliciously woundeth any good mans fame, deserueth in all rigour to bee seuerely punished. Those accusations which are exhibited against any of them, must bee willingly and graciously receiued, heard, and remitted (if it bee requisite) to iust inquisition and iudgement. This auncient custome was obserued amongst the Romanes, in election of their magistrates, by which their Commonwealth gallantly flourished: and when that course declined, their State so much inclined, that it was miserable, and ruinous in short time. Not much vnlike was that of king *Philip Valoys* called *Le Beau*, who published an Ediēt, That euerie third yeare inquisition should bee made into the manners, state, and behaiour of the secret Counsellors, administering in the French state.

Lib. 2. lib. hister.

*Ioh. Tillus in
Com. de Reb. gall.*

In

A In this forme of triall therefore great iudgement and good heed must bee had to those accusations so preferred, which sometimes like pilles haue their bitternesse fairely gilt and shaddowed, as hath beene manifoldly seene by good experience heretofore. In which case the Prince imitateth *S. Thomas*, not crediting further than his eyes and hands haue seene and felt. For honours and Offices are either bestowed vpon men for desert, for fauour, or in respect of their power. He which in this choice hath inspeccion onely to the first, sheweth wisdom and vertue: but they that simply stand vpon power and fauour, differ little from the touch of tyrannie.

B A fit Counsellor therefore a little after his election should haue adoption by the prince into that societie, before his noble and immediate ministers of Iustice; where, to him must bee shewed, that for his wisdom and honest parts, and in regard of the peoples good opinion, attesting his sufficiencie, choice was made of him: which good fame if he would cherish, the glorie should in speciall redound vnto himselfe; whereas otherwise, the neglect thereof would disgrace and deiect him, proposing rewards and punishments suting with his demeanour: by which course the people will be well satisfied, the Counsellor tied to care how this honour may be with answerable dutie retained, and to knit vp the couenant, his oath being (as *Cicero* tearmeth it) a religious affirmation, must bee ministred vnto him in presence; which will

C summon his conscience to warie circumspection and faithfulness in that Office, arming him with honest constancie, when partiall respect of blood or friendship shall chalenge him vpon vniust tearmes; by which means he may take honourable exceptions against them. And hence is it that *Salust* sayth, How Counsellors should in their difficult consultations set apart all hatred, friendship, wrath, and mercie. *Haud etenim facile vera prouidet animus ubi illa efficiunt: neque quisquam omnium libidini simul & vsui paruit*: For hardly can the mind foresee the truth where those offend, neither did euer any man become subiect at once to his lust and commoditie. And (to make it the surer) an oath is most auailable with honest and ingenuous consciences and natures, which *Cicero* likewise addeth to the charge of a magistrate. *Neque officiorum; contra rempub. neque contra iusiurandum ac fidem amici sui causa vir bonus facies: nec si Iudex quidem eris de ipso amico*: A good man will not enter into any action either against the Commonwealth, or contrarie to his oath, for any respect of friendship: no, though he were the Iudge in his friends cause. For euery noble magistrat which respecteth honour, will onely doe those things, *Qua salua fide facere possit: Nullum etenim vinculum ad astringendam fidem iure iurando maiores arctius esse voluerunt*. For our Elders were of opinion, that there could not bee deuised any firmer bond to retaine a mans faith, than his solemne oath.

E If Princes therefore will hold this course in planting Counsellors, many very noble persons by birth, will with vertuous studies furnish and enable themselves for those Offices: and suppose, they beeing licenciously nuzzled in delicate effeminacie, corrupt their natures with pestilent sluggishnesse; yet will other ingenuous spirits (not so pampered and affotted with sensualities

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in their education) naturally contend to become absolute; and with some experience and practise prooue planets of happinesse to the Commonwealthe, where they minister.

In my iudgement that was a very strange and politicke prouision of former times in Fraunce, which did so worke in the phantasticall spirits of those Noblemen: For *Vincensius Lupanus* noteth, That they did abhorre as a qualitie base, barbarous, and disgracefull, that their gentlemen of the most liberall birth and nature, should bee learned in the liberall Sciences and in Philosophie: prouiding onely, that their education should tend to good skill in horsemanship, in hunting, and in the practise of armes. In which opinion it seemeth to mee, that they were formerly confirmed, and animated by the kings of that realme vpon very prudent respects: howbeit, I could neuer read it written in any booke, neither haue I receiued it from the mouth of any mans opinion, what cause might induce them to that kind of Stupiditie. But (vnder pardon) I deeme, that they being of a fierie, stirring, and haughtie stomacke (as the noble natures of that Nation hath bene many times by many wise obseruers noted) and being rooted or implanted rather to the ciuile factions of diuerse Dukes and pettie princes, through blood and alliance oppositely combined against some kings, and others of those prouinces; it hath bene a kind of foolish caball, tending to the preferuation of that State, and taught vnto them for the priuation of their rationall and intellectuall knowledge, which otherwise, through their sedicious complots and deuices, (such as haue alwayes bene plentifull amongst them) they might haue coyned out of the noble mint of hystories and other politike discourses, and therewithall endangered the publicke state. For certaine it is, that (by the goodnesse of God, and the naturall benefit of that climate vnder which they liue) those noble men of Fraunce are docile, ingenuous, apprehensiuie, variable, rash, and for the most part fitter for alteration than confirmation of great affaires. Howbeit, in the flourishing age of king *Frauncis* the first, some threescore and ten yeares past, at what time God graciously visited the most parts of Christendome with his spirit of all true knowledge and literature; when the most comfortable beames of his blessed sonne our Sauour Christ his Gospell, after a long and infernall eclipse of ignorance, beautifully brast out, and was disperfed amongst the poore, leane, and hunger-starued sheepe of his pasture, as well with vs in these Realmes, as with them, and in Germanie: euen then did the French Nobilitie take it as their highest honour, and a true type of perfect glorie to bee learned in all vertuous contemplation and studies, that therein also (which so much surreacheth momentanie fortunes) they might like as many starres surmount, and be discerned from the vulgar shaddowes. So that vnto men enriched with those noble qualities, the prince vertuously studying to glorifie the state of that flourishing kingdome, diuolued the great and noblest Maiesties, Offices, and Magistracies of his state (whereof the number is infinite) vnto such as were learned and vertuous. *Sola namque virtus vera Nobilitas est.* For very Nobilitie is composed of vertue onely. And certaine is it found in all kingdomes, That if the Prince delight in hunting, Poetrie,

A trie, Musicke, Armes, Astrologie, &c. not onely those neereſt him in court, but the vulgar will faſhion themſelues, according to their abilities vnto ſuch ſtudies and pleaſures. And (if hee take comfort in wiſe and honorable coun- cellours) all his Nobles and Barons within the ſpace of foure or ſiue yeares will bee fit to ſerue in ſecret Councell to the beſt princes of the world; nay more, a king may make apt Counſellors of very meane men (*Qui maioribus ſuis virtute praeſeunt*: Which giue more light of vertue than their anceſtors) onely by this rule: ſo that his houſe or Court ſhall ſoone become a Schoole- houſe or Colledge of ſapience and vertue.

This likewiſe in the election of a Counſellor is one exceeding Principle,

B That euery Prince in the beginning of his reigne, without very weightie cauſe to the contrarie, continue thoſe Counſellors in their places, being left in ſeruiſe of his predeceſſor. Which wiſedome hath well appeared in your moſt worthily renowned Maieſtie; who with good ſucceſſe and auspicious grace yeelded your ſelfe to that courſe, vpon your Graces imitation to your heri- tage of this Crown imperiall of England, with the royalties annexed. Which ſome writers haue noted in diuers prudent kings, but amongſt others in *Lewis* the eleuenth, the French king: who being readie to depart this life, commended to the truſt of his ſonne *Charles* the eight (then readie to ſucceed) the fide- lities of thoſe Counſellors which inſtantly did ſerue him; intimating to him

C in this caueat, That hee by good experience in himſelfe had formerly felt the ſmart which enſued vpon the diſplacing of ſuch approued, vertuous, and honeſt miniſters. Whoſe counſell tooke ſuch effect with king *Charles*, that hee li- ued in ſuch happie ſtate amongſt his Peeres and Counſell, as that in grieſe conceiued of his death, two of his Officers about his perſon, then in ſeruiſe, ſuddenly died alſo. This *Charles* was ſo beloued, as hath not bene mentioned in the French hiſtories of any king like him, except of the Emperour *Titus*; before whom (for his humanitie, lenitie, liberalitie, goodneſſe, and vertues) he was much preferred.

Vnto the making vp of this politicke bodie, the profit, ruine, honour, and

D ſhame of the prince and ſubiects are ſurely faſtened. It behooueth therefore ſpecially, that Princes haue a ſharpe ſight into them of this ſocietie: for ad- mit ſome could be contented to deceiue; yet thoſe finding the Prince more warily like a carefull father than a vigilant tyrant, which attendeth bloodie vantage, to looke into their actions, become faithfull, albeit againſt their will: and then being well encouraged with dignities and preferments in their diligence and honeſties, they ſhall not haue any cauſe to wring from others vniuſtly: inſomuch as they (finding that the prince groweth ſtudioſ of their weale) ſhall bee mooued entirely to neglect their owne priuate, for the better aduancement of his ſeruiſe, and Maieſtie. In which, if

E they doe not both of them keepe rule, ſpace, time, tune, and eare recipro- cally, then ſhall they both certainly miſtake in the deſcant of their plaine ſong.

Here vpon dependeth alſo, that ſecret Counſellors (in weightie matters by the Prince to them concredited) keepe counſell and ſecrecie: for (it being

deemed most odious, when a priuate person dispalet the secrets of his friend F
 that relieth vpon his Taciturnitie) how much more contemptuous and dam-
 nable is it in him, which discloseth the priuate consultations of his Prince;
 when such ouerture portendeth great damage to the Common-wealth?
 Heerein he reuerfeth his truest honours, violateth royall affiance, and without
 any fence or religion had of his oath, (as impiouly prophaned, as assumed
 solemnely) transgresseth to the death. In these considerations it is most be-
 hoofefull to conceale matters important from the knowledge of women; be-
 ing of themfelues by nature commonly desirous to heare, to know, and to
 talke all things. And hence was it, that *Salust* inueighing against *Cicero*, did
 obiekt, That he did *Cum Terentia uxore consulere de Republica*: That hee did G
 consult with his wife *Terentia* concerning State-matters. Certainly, such
 Counsellors (if a man may so tearme them, because they cannot keepe
 counsell, but lay that open to the great harme which is deliuered vnto them
 in trustiest secret for the generall good) are for the most part basely disposed,
 vicious, loaden with heinous crimes and nefarious practises, vaine, audacious;
 which glorie (to their owne shame) hauing no power nor moderation in
 hand, tongue, or heart: such as *Quintus Curius*, who communicating with a
 noble Romane strumpet called *Fulvia*; the treasons of *Lucius Catiline* (where-
 in he was a vigilant partisan and principall Sergeant himselve) euen in the very
 forge of their treasonable practises, subuerted himselve, with all his complots H
 and complices. But it is euident by the example of young *Papirius*, (when
 vpon the importunacie which his mother vsed, to learne out of him the Se-
 nates seerets) that he deuised a ridiculous bait, which tempted her with other
 Ladies verbally to prostitute their shame in the Senate; wherein they made
 manifest their owne intemperance: but concerning this, being so common
 and notable, I referre them that list, to the Historie. Of the like nature was
Sempronia, of whom *Salust* sayth, That it could not be discerned, whether she
 were more prodigall of her owne good fame, or of her money: *Sic enim li-*
bidine accensa fuit ut sapius viros peteret, quam peteretur: qua sibi fidem prodi-
derat, & credam abiurauerat: For so vehement was the fire of her lust, that I
 shee did much more desire mens companies, than men did hers: who did
 betray the trust of those that reposed in her, and perfidiously deale with those
 that credited her. It is not vnknowne what ciuile calamities in the Realme
 of Fraunce, both amongst the royall brethren and princes thereof, happened
 vpon participation in the great Counsels of that State with the late Queene
 mother *Caterina di Medici*, daughter to the Duke of Florence: and it cannot
 but be fresh in their remembrance through Christendome by them of this
 late age; because no Commonwealth, but hath in some one or other thing
 suffered extremities, when this *Carb.* (as a President to both the Counsels of
 Fraunce) steered the helme of that Commonwealth, which shee misguided K
 after her owne lust and pleasure.

In comur. Cat.

Ioh. Tillus in
Com. de Reb. gall.

Vpon diuers considerations by that law *Salique* (which king *Pharamonde*
 made in his owne patrimonie neere Xantoigne, called *Salique*, whereupon
 that denomination first was) women were exempted from many priuiled-

ges.

- A** ges. And *Gaius* noteth of king *Lewis* the eleuenth of Fraunce, which in *Lib. 10.* his last Testament at his death amongst other things entreated his sonne the good king *Charles* to commit no counsell of trust vnto his mother *Charlotte* the Duke of Sauoyes daughter, which scarcely did liue one whole yeare dowager after her husband: peradventure he doubtfully fantasied, that she had vniustly or wickedly dealt with him in his estate or life. But I will not insift herein, submitting my selfe to them which are the fathers of wisdom and experience, and can discretely tell how with honour and constancie to bridle their affections in such cases; hauing by good example of others more power in this vertue to performe, than the most wise & valiant of mortall men, king
- B** *Salomon* and *Sampson* had before, whose prudence and fortitude were scandalized and subuerted by women. Howbeit, I doe not here intend from all sorts of women, and in anie weightie causes of consequence to make a question of foeminine insufficiencie; because in other greater causes of right and gouernment (according to the auntient lawes, priuiledges, and customes of diuers Realmes and Countries) there is great reason why they should retaine their immunities: as *Plutarch* writeth was sometimes in Fraunce: *Cum Celsarum mulieres Consilij publici interfuisent, in quibus de pace & bello tractabatur: mulier, &c.* *In tractat. de*
- C** At what time the French women were alwaies present at their publique Counsels; in all matters ciuill and militarie. For hee saith in the said Treatise, how such articles of confederacie were betwixt the Gaules and *Hanniball*, that the Carthaginian Magistrates should order all wrongs done vnto them by the Celtes; and that the Celtique women answerably, such wrongs as was done vnto the Gaules by the Carthaginians. Which auncient custome being odious to diuers princes of that Realme in posteritie, might peradventure haue giuen cause vnto king *Pharamonde* of his law. But sure it is, that many women haue worthely gouerned heretofore in diuers places: And diuerse very learned and politicke women, such as *Aspasia*, whom *Pericles* loued, and with whom *Socrates* did often consult. Howbeit if Counsels of the state in these our dayes should be referred vnto them. I thinke neither the time nor date of
- D** their continence and experience would permit the same againe in Fraunce. But that I may conclude vpon this point of secrecie: for by that peculiaritie Counsellors ought to be chosen and cherished. It is written in *Diodorus Siculus*, *Biblioth. Histor. cap. 3. lib. 2.* how the Egyptians did ordaine, That hee which opened the secrets of that Commonwealth to his trust committed, should haue his tongue rooted out. Those sixtie learned Areopagites of Athens did carefully prouide against this crime also. Moreouer, it is instituted by the ciuile lawes, that they which diuulge secret Counsels of the publicke state, shall bee burnt at a stake, or hanged vpon a gibbet, *Transfuge ff. de panis*

- It is required in persons of so worthy place and nobilitie, that to this faithfulnesse they superadde fortitude and honest constancie towards the defence and maintenance of iustice and truth both in giuing, receiuing, and in concealing of Counsell, as is warned by the example of *Sardanapalus*, the thirtieth and last Monarch of the Assyrians; who through his sensualitie, pusillanimitie, lacke of grace, and of true fortitude, was within his huge citie *Niniue*

Diodori Siculi
lib. 2, Bib. Hist.

besieged by *Arbaces*, capitaine of the Medians : through whose power, and in feare of the Oracle, which was fulfilled in suddaine falling downe of a large peece of the cities wals (that made passage for the Medians, and strooke him with such a present terror) he thus feebly consulted and resolved with himselfe, vpon a flaming pyre, destined to that end, together with his concubines, eunuchs, and treasure, to cast himselfe, leauing all the spoyles and reliques with that Monarchie to the Medians. In the Prince therefore principally fortitude is required, and next in his secret Counsellors, whose vertues should animate him.

Epist. ad Casul.
86.

There is one most excellent note of true fortitude, remaining vnto such honourable Counsellors, by the example of *Scauola*, viuely manifesting a valiant heart, fortified with a iust and vnstained conscience : hee, when *Sylla* with multitudes of men in armes had entred the Senate, implacably thirsting after the destruction of *Marius*, whom hee would haue had by the Senatours then present, denounced a common enemy to the state : onely *Scauola* refused to giue voice against him, euen when *Sylla* with most truculencie threatened him to the contrarie, saying : Albeit thou darest mee with these heapes of souldiors, with which thou distrestest this honourable presence, although thou breath forth death against me, yet will not I condescend (in loue of my blood, which is both aged and little) to denounce *Marius* our enemy, through whose valour and honestie my conscience attesteth, how the citie Rome, and all Italie, was preserued. In such cases therefore, Counsellors truly valiant feare onely the wrath of God threatening iniquitie, least as *S. Augustine* writeth, *Through feare or affection in concealing the veritie, they seeme more to respect the creature than the creator.*

Prou. 24.

Cell. Iugurth.

Vnto this faith and fortitude there are opposites, to which diuers in their deliberations and resolutions are vehemently subiect, viz. feare, being a certaine pensue heauinesse for some mischiefe future or remote ; and affection, which is a parttall respect of certaine persons beyond the lists of reason . Such people therefore are not deemed wise and prudent, which feare more than is fit, considering that indissoluble accord which is betwixt Prudence and Fortitude, according to that wise Prouerbe of king *Salomon*, *A wise man is valiant, and a learned man strong* . Notwithstanding the weake opinions of diuers which haue argued in my hearing, That wise men cannot be valorous, for so much as they summe vp with the counters of reason in the audit of prudence, all chaunces and perils which may come in, by circumstances and deriuations of matters : According to that of *Salust* concerning *Iugurth* ; *Quod difficilem imprimis est, & praelio strenuus erat & bonus consilio, quorum alterum ex prouidentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem plerunque afferre solent* : And that which was most difficult, his stoutnesse in warre, and his soothfastnesse in Counsell exceeded : the last of which commonly (by reason of that prouidence, which forecasteth perils) doth inflict feare ; the first through exceeding boldnesse breedeth temeritie. A rare position : as if there had scarcely bene any meane betwixt cowardise and temeritie. Actions both glorious and profitable may not be let slip through feare of vncertaine perils ; yet

if

- A** if we stand betwixt two dangers, let vs with firme valour aduenture vpon that which may best emblazon our honour, bearing with it true tokenis of our true heroicall vertues and spirits. We know by good experience, that a timorous Counsellor is by desperation (*being a fearefull and horrible deiection or consternation of a mind base and abiect*) conuerted into rash courtes; euen as rash men are by their temeritie. Furthermore, it is common in the nature of things chiefly to feare dangers most imminent, being more appalled at present perils than is requisite; but valuing mischiefes future and remote more carelesly than they should: because hopes by times or chaunces may promise some redresse for them. But this is both sure and notable: *Vbi bonum publicum vltimi est, id dubitare aggredi socordia atque ignauia est*: Salust. de Rep. ord. ad Ca. Caf. It is the part of a slothfull coward, when a man shall feare to attempt any thing which may benefit the Commonwealth. A prudent Senatour therefore equally respecteth head and foot: for after long consultation and leifure had in expence of time, he cannot without great shame and difficultie recall matters which haue beene curiously sifted before: as it was spoken of Bomilchar: *Qui cupidus incepta parandi, et timore socij anxius omisso veteri Consilio nouum querere noluit*: Bell. Lugurth. Who being earnest to perfect his beginnings, and standing in doubt of his faint hearted fellow, would not alter his owne first determination for any second resolution. In blaunching these dishonourable blemishes of feare and affection, the Counsellor giueth a cleere light and perfect view of his loue and worship vnto the Prince and Commonwealth. It is worthely noted by some, that amongst the Athenians, immediately before their consultations, a cryer did by proclamation denounce a shamefull death and confusion to him and all his posteritie, that should minister corrupt or vngacious counsell to the Commonwealth for his owne priuate weale or securitie. O most perfect, sacred, and eternall Senate, which doth at the Counsell chambers dore leaue behind all partiall hatred against aduersaries, grace towards friends, arrogancie, priuate passion, with obstinacie: which the emperour *Fredericke* caused to be curiously written with golden letters ouer the ports of his palace at Ratisbone, That such as were thither appealed to consultation, should leaue without those gates all dissimulation and hypocrisie: The Venetians likewise, before they came to deliberate vpon any weightie matters in the State-chamber, first purifie their consciences at Saint *Markes*, where they leaue all priuate affections and peculiarities behind: for the foundation of perpetuall fame and glorie composed is of probitie, faith, and seuerie equalitie; without all which it out-rangeth the purlues of prudence, being meere vanitie, false-hood, and a kind of wilie iuggling. The part of a Senatour therefore is vprightly to discharge a good conscience: and hee that restraineth truth in feare of any mans hatred, deserueth not his place in this Counsell. Which *Seneca* to this effect approoueth: *He that feareth malice, cannot any skill of gouernment*. A notable example remaineth of *Priscus Helaydus*: *Qui sola bona qua honesta, mala qua turpia, Potentiam, Nobilitatem, ceteraque extra animum neque bonis neque malis annumerauit*: Cor. Tac. Annal. lib. 30. Who did esteeme onely those things good and euill which were honest, and filthy,
- F iij
- power,

power, nobilitie, with such other things as were corporall, hee did only deeme to bee the robes of good and euill. Such was his equabilitie, such his contempt of riches, such his stout constancie, when iustice did importune, and his vndaunted perseuerance against all feares, as was admirable and matchlesse. For being by *Vespasian* interdicted the Senate, he answered, That it rested in him, being Emperour, to remooue him out of his place in counsell; yet vntill hee were formally thrust out, hee found it lawfull for him to sit in that societie: yea, said *Vespasian*, but be silent then. Nay, then I must speake, replied *Priscus*, if you prohibite it. To which the Emperour reioyned, I must aske sentences and thine opinion amongst the rest, but it shall cost thee thy life, if thou make answer: yet *Heluydius* to this peremptorily surreioyned: *I am a mortall man, Emperour doe thy will: I shall performe my dutie, doubts is not: It is in thy power to take away my life, and my part to die without feare.* A Counsellor of such valour, faith, and constancie may worthily sit in iudgement with highest Emperours: and desperate is that prince his hope which contemneth sharpe counsell, being most healthfull and profitable in effect, though it import some present trouble: for they that feare to deale plainly with their princes, preferre their owne shame and sluggishnesse before honour, if grieve and vexation of mind accompanie the same: and marke it, that the liues of such, commonly conclude in perdition and obloquie. Now to remedie Counsellors which are timorous and doubtfull in their determinations and resolutions: first, let it be considered, that all humane actions are subiect to many perils, but wise men ought to know, that all mischiefs which may come, doe not happen generally: whereas very many vanish by the benefit of fortune, and multitudes also by providence & industrie: for by considering, foreseeing, and weighing many matters, men become very warie.

The generall good qualities, which like so many precious stones, as vpon the breast-plate of *Aaron*, magnifie the thoughts and hearts of a noble Counsellor, are in brieft; to be couetous of commendation, and liberall of coyne: *Animum habere paratum ad maximum & pulcherrimum facinus aggrediendum; non super fortunam animum gerere; neque per ambitionem simulare probitatem, quia difficile est illis in potestatibus temperare:* To beare a mind prepared to enterprise any great and laudable attempt; to fashion and temper his mind with his fortunes equally; neither arrogantly to counterfeite himselfe honest: because it is most difficult, that such persons should beare any good temper in their authoritie. These be the men which worthily spend the vertues and good faculties of their life in rule and magistracie, which liue in the sight of many. These are they whose actions are recorded in mens hearts, and though Hystories should faile, would remaine by tradition in the memorials of posteritie. If therefore they be noble by birth, let them beare their estates without pride: if they sit vpon the seate of magistracie, let them maintaine their reputation without insolence, contempt, or enuie of persons inferiours, equals, or superiours. If they be verely religious, and spiritually lightened with the knowledge, feare and worship of God, let them set their hearts

- A** hearts free from superstition : if their learning purchase for them reuerence, let them humble themselues the more, abhorring arrogancie : if they present the person of grauitie, let them performe the same with all decencie, void of hypocrisie. In their studies and contemplations let them declare festiuitie : let them be constant in good resolutions without repining and bitternesse : let them likewise shew good affabilitie to the people, without any smoke of popularitie : for when they shall consider, how *the greatest fortunes haue least libertie, they will auoid all apparence of euill, concealing it from the vulgar.* I meane in speciall those vices of pride and perturbation ; as malice, hatred, and apparant anger ; which are in meane men though a little noted, yet not long remembred, but in persons of their ranke and authoritie misconstrued, and perillously pointed at, yea, and engrauen with a penne of Steele by the names of Pride and Crueltie.

There are besides all these, diuerse other notable qualities, many of which are included in this breuiat, and required to the complete force of a Counsellor. First, and aboue all other ornaments, his waistcoat and secret armour priuate to the soule, from whence all his vertues flourish, and his robe of sincere honour in highest counsels and iudgements, must bee made of zealous holinesse, which is the most venerable defence of such a reuerend Counsellor. He must therefore bee studious of Theologie : for where impietie banisheth all feare, and feeling of sinne ; and for as much as all Counsels of the

- C** wicked are fraudulent, it must necessarily follow, that through them the contempt of true religion (being the soule of euery well instituted State) forcibly dependeth, dragging violently with it the Commonwealths subuersion. This diuine knowledge illuminateth his reason and vnderstanding, adding quicknesse and courage to discern and punish persons that freese, draw backe, or stagger in caes of religion ; either by their contempt of the deitie, or in ignorance of Gods true worship. This ensigneth the readiest and best course, which he should obserue in extirpation of contagious schismes and pestilent sects : and how to continue with stedfast and often prayer in faith

- D** towards God for the true sapience of his holy spirit ; which is reuealed in a mysterie, being a concealed wisdome, and determined by God before the world for our glorification. This wisdome springeth from the root of Gods feare, which giueth vs vnderstanding to depart from euill ; which maketh a cheerefull heart, yeeldth a ioyfull crowne, and prolongeth mans life in gladnesse. It is a sacred knowledge, yea, the ineffable perfection of all goodness : Onely fooles despise wisdome and instructon, presuming in weightie causes and consultations to succeed well without that sacred spirit of heavenly wisdome, which should direct them. But such as are wise feare that vnspeakable power filially ; which is with a kind of heart-longing loue : and vnto
1. Corinth. cap. 2
Iob. cap. 28.
Ecclesiasticus 1.
- E** such alone and assuredly hath his diuine omnipotencie prepared that, which neither eye, eare, nor heart hath seene, heard, or certainly conceiued ; reuealing vnto them those arcane and sacred mysteries by the spirit of holinesse, which openeth the secret treasures of God. All true light, which mooueth and inciteth admiration and loue, shineth from the contemplatiue throne of cleere

cleere sanctitie, and it is full of the power of loue and mercie: which loue of F
 God, *Salomon* calleth honourable wisedome; it beeing accompanied with
 feare and reuerence: which is of it selfe a sacred knowledge, by vertue thereof
 is mans heart iustified: honour and long life are the bratnches of it, fastened
 in the sacred root of wisedome by faith, which vanquisheth sinne and death,
 faith and meekenesse attending it. This heauenly loue illuminateth, and al-
 most transubstantiateth our hearts of flesh by the power of God, which our
 Sauour Christ (speaking to the woman of Samaria) calleth a spirit, saying,
 That such as worship God, must doe the same in spirit and truth. They there-
 fore will learne, tast, and loue that sacred word and knowledge, which is the
 pure fountaine of true wisedome, the sweetnesse of which (alas) I neither G
 can vtter nor conceiue. After this knowledge of God, with the sincere loue
 of true religion, there is another kind of pietie, most excellently commenda-
 ble in a Counsellor; which is, in suffering punishments cheerefully for the
 exact obseruation of his late deceased Soueraignes constitutions, as also prin-
 cipally for the confession of his faith, that neither superiorities, honours, or any
 carnall and earthly respects, feares, punishments, or martyrdomes may take him
 from the reuerence and most sweet loue of God, which remaineth with him
 in Iesus Christ.

The next care immediate after the knowledge of God, consisteth in his skill
 of gouernment and studie to maintaine the Commonweale: which weale H
 doth not onely comprehend the generall good, but the benefit and safegard
 of all priuate persons therein. These so combine and loue like turtles, that one
 cannot liue without fellowship of another. In which his studious and inse-
 parable loue of the Commonwealth he must sequester so farre his owne pri-
 uate profit and authoritie, that he be found at all times readie to bestow his
 honour, substance, and life in maintenance thereof: so should hee therefore
 respect the state and affaires of his countrey, by the prince referred to him, as
Cicero sayth, *Vt utilisas sua communis utilisas sit: vicissim Et aque communis u-*
tilisas sua sit: That his priuate weale may proue the common weale, and that
 correspondently the Commonweale may become his proper weale. Which I
 is a principle deriued from the needfull precepts of nature. This is a vertue by
Plato most commended in a Counsellor: for to this day no state hath either
 beene amplified or conserued, but by men of that qualitie, euen as it was said
 by *Salust* to *Cesar*: *Firmanda Respublica non armis modo sed (quod multo magis,*
multoque asperius est) bonis pacis artibus. The Commonwealth must not onely
 be munited and fortified with armes, but with good cunning and skilfull
 arts to make and maintaine peace, being a mysterie of much more force and
 difficultie. It is written of *Calicrassides*, a captaine of the Lacedemonians, that
 (in their warres at *Peloponessus*, when hee without any losse to himselfe might
 haue saued the whole Nauie, and declined the warre, then instant against the
Athenians) he refused to doe so; saying, That the *Lacedemonians* after the losse K
 of that fleet might furnish out another, but that hee could not without grie-
 uous inuision of shame and dishonour turne backe from them. Whereupon
 that whole nauie, to the irrecoverable losse of the *Lacedemonians*, became a
 spoyle

In Orat. ad C.
 Ces. de Rep. Ord.

The second Booke of Offices.

41

- A** spoyle to their enemies. But *Qu. Fabius* the Romane Generall held a contrarie course and opinion in his seruice, enduring the scoffes and contemptuous brags of his foes, which scornefully called him a delayor, till such time as (when good occasion and aduantage was offered) he so confounded *Anni-ball*, then triumphing in his many victories, that he wrought out his countries libertie, with oppression of the *Carthaginians* by those meanes. *Calicratides* (hauing lost the day) lost likewise his countrey, life, and honour, beeing for the reward of his follie named in their Annales *Calicratides Temerarius*. *Fabius* who by cunctation had giuen life and honour to his countrey, was for his actions of valour, and in perpetuall glorie thereof cannonized in their immortall Hystories by the title of *Maximus*. And hereupon this as a certaine note and rule may be grounded, that all hypocrites, couetous, and vaine glorious persons (such as doe with *Calicratides* more prize their priuat glory than the publicke weale) are enemies to the generall state; and such vndoubtedly (like flatterers) if time should so serue, would not sticke (to the end they might endanger the Prince thereby) to say, That all the peoples wealth is his. By which example we viuely find represented vnto vs the warie circumspection of a good Commonwealths man in the person of *Fabius*, studying the preservation and honour of himselfe and of his countrey, together with the rash and foolish negligence of a vaine-glorious hypocrite, like *Calicratides*; which
- C** so slightly valued the conseruation and weale of his owne Nation. In this loue and care of the Commonwealth is required a due consideration, how the whole politicke societie consisteth of soule and bodie; the soule (as is aforesaid) for religion, in aduancing and maintaining the true worship of God; the bodie taken for the dwelling or place of habitation. There is likewise besides that soule and bodie the spirit of liuing, which is the mouing and stirring of the bodie: this may bee properly called or compared rather to the forme of euery Commonwealth, as in knowing whether it be a Monarchie, as great *Brittaine*, *Fraunce*, *Ireland*, *Spaine*, *Castile*, and *Portugall*: or as the Empires of the *Turkes* and *Moscouites*, but more remote: or if an Aristocracie, like *Venice*; wherein are foure Counsels, besides the Senate and gentlemen of that state. The first called *Consilio de Sani*, which prudently deliberate and deate in all the land causes: the second in like sort called *Consilio de Sani*, appertaining the Admiraltie: *Consilio de deci*, & *Consilio de ferri*. Vpon which last seuen, the whole burthen of that Commonwealth and of the Seignories thereof is amply reposed. Like vnto which, sometimes we reade how the state of *Sparta* was: or if a Democracie, like the present state of *Switzerland*: or if the gouernment thereof be referred to the King, and to his Nobles, as now in *Denmarke*, and in other ages at *Rome*, when the kings reigned, vntill the *Tarquines*: or to the King and to his Commons, as in *Persia*: or to the Nobles and people together, as at *Rome* after their Kings were cried downe; at *Athens* once, and at this day in *Florence*, *Siene*, with other free states of *Italie*: or to the King, with his nobles and people respectiue; as is common in *Germany*, *Poleland*, *Aragon*. When he hath entred into such knowledge, then is it fit that he consider by the diseases, and by the causes procuring them, which
- G
- forme

Mypol. a coll.

forme is good, and which bad : for if this life (which I tearme to bee **F**
 the forme of gouernment) bee sicke, or diseased, it is required, that the
 Counsellor should play the part of a wise Physitian, by purgations, diets,
 vomites, blood-lettings, or other remedies, to medicine and rectifie the
 state of that bodie, where such policie laboureth. After such notes let him
 measure by what seuerall formes these or any such principalities were con-
 serued and lost; by what lawes and magistrates they were and must bee
 succoured in troublesome times. If hee bee wanting here in, how shall hee
 giue aduice vnto the Prince or State in any troublesome or difficult sea-
 sons, towards the cure of any desperate diseases or wounds happening vn-
 to the Common-wealth? Or without this knowledge, how shall hee di- **G**
 rect him in his behauiour towards friends, confederates, enemies, or o-
 thers, for their benefite, or annoyance? Hee should in like case haue per-
 fect knowledge in the plots, heads, and grounds of all sedicions and trou-
 bles, with the wayes to suppress them; whether the Prince his force bee
 knit vp in bagges, or locked vp in the peoples hearts: what and how ma-
 ny wayes may bee found with honest colour to breake peace against him
 that neuer gaue occasion thereof: whether it bee more meete, that Prin-
 ces encounter their enemies without their owne territories, or expect them
 in campe at home. All which is taught by the iudicious reading of Hy-
 stories.

In this my Counsellor, I would require much readinesse, and quicknesse **H**
 of wit: for moderate sharpenesse and dexteritie compose the heads, bodies,
 and feet of all good actions. That light therefore, which beautifieth euery
 noble and excellent wit, must be diuine, singular, and vnusuall. Howbeit, a
 politicall wit, (if I may so tearme it) *Quasi natum ad congregationem & socie-*
tatem: As instituted to congregate, and aduice people: as *Freigius* defineth
 the same, most excellently magnifieth a Counsellor: for thereby doth hee
 referre all things vnto the common societie, to the coniunction, vnion, or
 collection of people, and companies; reforming and wisely preuenting all
 ciuile and dangerous distractions and diuisions amongst the multitude. This **I**
 is that wit which euery gentleman (that purposeth to trauaile into forraine
 countries) ought to be possessed of, and without it, *Calum non animum mouas*:
 He changeth his nation, and not his condition: Because it teacheth him the
 formes, constitutions, augmentations, diminutions, mutations, lawes, religi-
 ons, rites, and iudgements of those nations, where he sojourneth. It is the true
 guide and sweet companion of iourneyes and peregrination, according to the
 saying of *Socrates* in *Xenophon*: *Generosum est & omni fauore dignum ingenium,*
cui sunt cordi disciplina politica: That wit is generous, and deserueth all fauour,
 which taketh delight in politicall discipline. The apparant tokens & properties
 of such a wit are, when in answering they seeme prompt, sound, & short; in ap- **K**
 prehension, quick, iudicious, & attentue; in teaching, methodicall, and lucu-
 lent; in icasting, pleasant and circumspect; in serious matters, diligent & warie:
 likewise in the whole course of his owne nature so carefull, as he may make ef-
 fectuall tokens appeare of his great loue & respect of vertue. Moreouer, a noble
 wit

- A** wit neuer walketh in wayes vulgarly frequented, neuer speaketh after the vulgar fashon, neuer is mercinarie, neuer abruptly breaketh off a period; but doth all things with exceeding decencie. No man which is verely worthied in regard of his wit, that taketh any delight in base and common matters, sayth *Seneca*: *Et magna qua sunt ingenia agere ferunt iniuriam*: Mightie wits cannot easily brooke iniuries: according to *Salust*. Other garbes and attributes are likewise obserued in these wits: as in the entertainment, which proceedeth from such ingenuous persons, being performed with a liberall and most cheerefull courtesie, and sweetly seasoned with a gracious and plausible discourse. Such a wit turneth and looketh into good and euill, embracing and extolling the one, rebuking and eschewing the other by good discretion, not fearing malice, or offence. All actions flourishing out of it are cheerefull, and perfected with a commendable spirit, working alwayes in meditation, contemplation, comprehension, and (as it were) a palpitation of all things, exercised in much reading, conference, and societie, with people of all conditions and humors, busied in knowledge of matters past, present, and to come, studying to be generally wel skilled in all laudable arts, neuer slouthfull, neuer wearie, triumphing in many labours, vexations, and troubles: *Quippe secunda res sapientum animos fatigunt*. Such a wit should seeme as in *Scipio Africanus*, whose businesse seemed most great, when his action was least: *Nec* Cic. in Amicis.
- C** *unquam minus solus fuit quam cum solus esset. Prudentissimus etenim quisque maxime negotiosus est*: Neither was he euer lesse at leisure, than when he was alone in priuat. For euery man which is most prudent, is least at leisure. And hence is this in *Salust*: *Non enim votis nec supplicij muliebribus, auxilia deorum comparantur, sed vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo prosperè omnia cedunt*. For God doth not send his succours to men onely because they doe with a broken spirit obserue strict vowes, and make prayers: but hee doth admit a generall good successe to them that are vigilant, industrious, and verely prudent. Such wits sweetly flourish in youth, and plentifully fructifie, resembling (as *Plato* compareth it) a fruitfull meddow. They bee the grounds of all knowledge, being studiously tilled and manured with liberall arts and morall philosophy: for as great burthens (which cannot be lifted by the strength of many men vnited) will bee with one engine easily mooued and turned; so wit will sometimes effect, which other helps cannot. I doe not meane in this place of subtile and fierie wits, which are more fit for innouation, than administration of matters, prone vnto rebellious and sedicious factions, which *Salust* luculently describeth in the person of *Cariline*. *In illo vis eximia facietiarum, & ratio quadam adumbrata virtutum, facilis ad comprehendendum omnium hominum familiaritates*: His force in pleasant and wittie ieasting did exceede, with a certaine kind of reasonable counterfeitsance, and adumbration of vertues; being prone to comprehend, and occupate the familiarities of all degrees of persons. This is a liuely resemblance and portraiture of a stirring hote wit, bewitching men with the shaddowes of vertue. These are wits of that eager temper and fiercenesse which will easily breake; and beeing in any great authorities, oppresse
- them.

In Troade.

Lib. 39.

themselues with their owne weight, retaining no meane, nor moderation : of whom that sentence in *Seneca* may be sayd : *Graue pondus illum magna nobilitas premit* : Great Nobilitie, becing a grieuous burthen, did oppresse him. Howbeit, such a wit as magnified *Marcus Cato* may be commended vndoubtedly, whom *Linie* describeth fit for any businesse which hee would vnder- take in these words : *His knowledge was absolute both in urbanitie and husbandrie. Some haue attained place on the seate of honour by their learning in the lawes, others by the gift of eloquence : some by the glorie rebounding from their many victories, and martiall trophies. But his wit was so pliant vnto all properties at his pleasure, that men would say, Nature without industrie did institute him ; hee did all things with that facilitie : in warre most valiant, in many battels victori- ous, and then by degrees aduanced, was a most renowned Emperour. In time of peace (if it stood vpon cases of right and equitie) his knowledge exceeded : in de- claming or pleading of a cause, passing eloquent. Which patterne of noble Cato, representeth vnto vs (as in a true Myrrour) the very life of a diuine wit.*

From this swcet fountaine honourably floweth the purple streame of elo- quence; which is none of a Counsellors meane graces : for in this Office hee shall happily be commended by the prince into forraine countries, either to counsell, dissuade, accuse, defend, commend, disgrace, congratulate, condole, or to such purpose. It behooueth him therefore to be richly furnished with that qualitie, which is the Loade-stone of all stubborne and steeled affecti- ons ; not onely to reuiue or refresh dead or dull spirits, (which are with intol- erable perturbations and continuall torture of passions vehemently distra- cted, and left almost sencelesse) but if it were possible, with a liuely spirit and diuine alacritie to lend essence from his owne soule in speaking ; which might miraculously lift the dead to life, with such admirable and astounding force of persuation, as might both examine and reclaime from traunces those sore bruised affecti- ons, which hee with the thunder of his eloquence hath deie- cted. In all seditions and tumults amongst mutinous souldiors, in all com- motions and turbulent factions amongst ciuile societies (when they gather head, to the fearefull disturbance and wounding of the Commonwealth, for quenching of their inordinate thirst after blood, and vn- satiable reuenge) nothing is so gracious as the balmie tongue of an eloquent and stirring Oratour : who like an Euangelist, with a golden pace, and tongue ouer-flowing with persuation, holdeth in his hand the Oliue of peace, coniuring their troubled and tumultuous spirits with force of that most sacred and omnipotent spirit of tranquillitie, directing his soule, and holding the reynes of his calme affe- ctions with the bridle of his tongue ; which like the snakie scepter of *Hermes*, hath power to calme the seas, quiet the winds, and pacifie the rebellious earth, when it is most out of order. So that in the *Ciceronian* inuectiue against

Putant quidem
falsi Ciceroni
fuisse ascriptam
hanc orationem
in Saustium. Ea
demum magna
et.

Salust (magnifying this golden gift of eloquence, which was imputed to *Tully* for a vice) it is written : *An ullum existimas ciuem egregium qui non hys artibus & disciplinis sit eruditus? An ulla alia rudimenta & incunabula virtutis quibus animi ad glorie cupiditatem aluntur?* What? art thou perswaded, that any

Statef-man

- A** Statef-man can be renowned, vnlesse he be disciplined in these arts, and rudiments of Rhetoricke? Or canst thou find any better Accidencies or Primer rules of vertue, whereby mens minds are fostered and encouraged in the desire and loue of glorie? For this is that admirable facultie, which protecteth our friends, succoureth strangers, relieueth the distressed, and terrifieth malicious people. Hence is it, that in adination thereof *Tacitus* writeth: *Eloquentia nihil in ciuitate nostra vel ad vtilitatem fructuosius, vel ad dignitatē amplius, vel ad vrbis famam pulcherrus, vel ad totius imperij atque omnium gentium noticiam illustrius excogitari potest*: There is not any thing can bee found or deuised in our Commonwealth, either more fruitfull, if you respect the profite, or more ample, in regard of the dignitie thereof, or more extending to the cities good fame, or more magnificent and glorious, to disperse and emblason the greatnesse of the whole Empire, and of all Nations, than the gift of eloquence. No Commonwealth, which hath not to her great and exceeding comfort tasted the diuine banquet of eloquence, when with graue and argute answeres the demaunds of forraine princes (by their embassadours in viue Oration, or by life of letters) were satisfied. This one principall qualitie in a Counsellor the prince should haue a desire to know, by conferring with him one houre or more in priuat (when leifure permitteth) with what grace, spirit, and perfection, he can expresse the sence of his mind: how he shortenneth and continueth his periods in Oration: his forme in the proposition, diuision, amplification, and conclusion of his speech; his grace, order, and propertie when he speaketh: obseruing moreouer, if in his discourse or speech hee bee sententious, nor fauouring of the schoole, but plausible, short, and sweet: and if a Prince would haue some readier assurance of his abilitie or dexteritie, vnder the pretence, that hee must forthwith write certaine letters gratulatorie, lamentatorie, or such like, done in his presence; the Prince may take a good and readie tast of his sufficiencie. Hee therefore, which can discourse vpon and answere vnto, with readinesse, any propositions or questions luculently and gallantly; and he that can with excellent moderation accommodate his saying, to the substance and worthinesse of that subiect from whence the fresh riuer of his Oration runneth: and hee likewise that can plausibly bind vp the garland of his speech to the present benefite of time, and to the comfort of his Auditorie, may worthely be called a good Orator.
- Hijs namque artibus siue apud infestis, siue apud cupidos, siue apud inuidentes, siue apud tristes, siue apud timentes dicendum habueris, tenebit habenas animorum*: Cor. Tac. in Dialogo de Orat.
- For by this art of Rhetoricke, an Oratour (if he shall deale with daungerous persons, or with men couetous, with enuious people, with such as are afflicted, or with any persons which are distracted through some kind of feare) yet shall he preuaile in qualifying and moderating their seuerall affections and passions. For he which can speake copiously with prudence, is much more excellent than those which meditate vpon graue and wise considerations, without eloquence: because cogitation conuerfeth in it selfe, and eloquence is beneficiall towards all which heare it: for when a man enamelleth a wise speech with copiousnesse, the people will confirme their opinions and coun-

Lib. 3. cap. 3.

Offic. 2.

In Dialog. de
Orat.

fels in his sapience: if therewithall hee season the same (as it were) with a pleasant modestie, infused into constant grauitie. There be foure kinds of eloquent speaking and writing, according to *Macrobius: Copiosum in quo Cicero, breue in quo Salustius: siccum quod Frontoni, pingue & floridum quod Plinio secundo, &c.* The copious wherein *Cicero*, the brieft in which *Salust*, the drie, through which *Fronto*, the full and fruitfull for which *Plinius* the second were famous. Any of which beeing ingenuously practised, without affectation or sophistrie, carrie with them great force of reconciliation. Much eloquence is found in those letters which king *Philip* of Macedon did write to his sonne *Alexander*, and in those Epistles which *Antipater* and *Antigonus* did write vnto Captaines, perswading them by benigne and fauorable tearmes to moue the peoples hearts, and to cherish or toll on the souldiors to seruite with the Metaphysicall oyle and balme of their eloquence and perswasion, but to deliuer those attributes of Oratorie (with a kind of seruencie, zeale, and affection in all causes of weight and passion) is of great auaille and force, which *Cicero* specially noteth: *Oratio qua in multitudinem cum contentione habetur saepe uniuersam excitat gloriam*: Those Orations or speeches, which in audience of the people are deliuered with a vehement and stirring spirit, commonly moue or procure a generall glorie: beeing intended here vnto the speakers, proceeding from the auditorie. Obseruing alwayes that Philosophicall decencie which prohibiteth him. *Tanquam luculentum suum cum quouis volutari: non enim procacitate lingua vitia sordes eluuntur*: Like a durty sow which walloweth in any puddle: for the dishonest touches of a mans conuersation are not washed out with sawcie taunts or speeches. Such like was that luxurious kind of procacitie, for which *Salust* and *Cicero* were both grievously taxed in their verball eskairmouches, together misbeleeuing the prudent tongues of grauitie. And therefore *Tacitus* specially well describeth that excesse of eloquence thus: *Eloquentia luxuriosa, alumna licentia, comes seditionum, effrenati populi incitamentum, siue obsequio, siue seruitude, contumax, temeraria, arrogans; quaque in bene constitutis ciuitatibus non oritur, &c.* Luxurious eloquence is the nurse of licence; the companion of seditions, the spurte which pricketh forth vnruely people, not acknowledging either seruice or dutie: it is stubborne, rash, arrogant, and neuer bred or nourished in any well ordered cities. These obseruations are required in a perfect Counsellor, and yet wholly depending vpon his excellent wit: which I last before touched; seruing as a precious elixir of life, and mettall for many strange purposes. And by these notes and qualities of Oratorie, (if any viue ember, or spiracle of ingenuous facilitie remaine in men) it shall appeare conspicuously.

The well speaking of many languages may be mustered amongst the rest for one speciall and most needfull qualitie: in speciall, the tongues of those kingdomes, and prouinces which are either subiects contributaries or confederates to the prince, and also the languages of his enemies: as appeareth in the learnedest of our princes his Counsell at this day. For amongst them the Greeke, Latine, Italian, Spanish, French, Danish, Polish, and Dutch tongues

are

- A** are well spoken and vnderstood. This is a comfortable benefit, when forraine people either with vs at home or abroad, are heartely glad to vnderstand, and to be vnderstood by those with whom they haue businesse, opening their own meanings better and more perspicuously by their owne mouth, than with helpe of an interpreter. Mutuall counsels likewise may by this knowledge be more safely debated, than by meanes of a third person interpreting: what more beneficiall commendation, than to heare, vnderstand, and deliberate vpon peaceable and hostile legations. If they bee friends, it better confirmeth their amitie, when Counsellors consult or debate with them in their owne language; perswading themselves commonly, that it proceedeth from loue and good obseruation. Admit they be sometimes deceiued in that opinion; yet such a kind of frustration is auailable. And suppose them enemies which so conferre with you, by that occasion their beneuolence is so much the sooner attained.

- It must be noted also, that few men interpret perfectly, many more satisfying their owne humors, than the precise meaning of the parties, adding or subtracting somewhat alwayes. What if vnder pretext of interpretation a referendarie be foisted in, vpon whose secrecie the whole weale and honour of a king with all his Soueraignetic dependeth? Admit the matters so require, that no delays without danger will serue to dispatch present answer to the Prince: is it not then a double shame and offence, to make enquire for such an interpreter as will deale faithfully? What if no fit man can bee found out of hand? Or if hee bee found, admit the one partie credit not his interpretation? All these are most dangerous difficulties, and therefore the knowledge of tongues is of speciall force in a secret Counsellour; and also that he know the fashions and conditions of those people, whose language he speaketh: but for the prince chiefly necessarie, that his Counsellors can speake, write, and interpret in those tongues before him, rather than repose affiance in strangers: Which trust is commonly fallacious, and then vndoubtedly pernicious. The cause why, the Latine and Greeke languages are so commonly studied and embraced in most parts of the world, is in regard of their many most learned bookes and monuments of former time. The reason of their so many volumes and written workes, is deriued from their auncient and ample Monarchies, endowed formerly with so many precious spirits; which both for ciuile and militarie knowledge so much surpassed and exceeded. Their leagues, tributes, lawes, ciuile customes, their many battailes, victories, and triumphs: as those of *Alexander*, *Cesar*, and of others infinite, beeing speciall attributes of their gouernment, gaue infinite matter to noble wits in those Empires continually to write such excellent dignities and exploits, as their natue countrey
- E** men had borne away, with much honour and renowne, both in peace and warre. The Princes, Consuls, Dictators, and Emperors yeelding royall encouragement and most munificent salaries to those Writers, (for their owne glories sake, which by such their art and industrie were ennobled) did make infinite the numbers of bookes, and Authors in all liberall faculties.

The

The multitudes of those bookes (through the greatnesse of these Monarchies) were farre and neere dispersed. The learning of those volumes (after the dissolution of these Empires) hath bene euermore and againe thirsted and hunted after by the best and all well disposed Commonweales and Princes, which since that time were alwayes enlightened by them, yeelding a continuall patterne of perfect humane knowledge to posteritie. And in these later ages (since the time of our Sauour Christ, of his Apostles, of their Disciples, and of those fathers, which succeeded them in the Primitiue Church, being through Greece and old Italie then dispersed) the very light of sweete Gospell hath bene by these means referued vnto vs in those two languages: and therefore haue these tongues, (so needfull for the interpretation of the Scriptures, the enucliation of verities, and confutation of heresies) still kept afoot the studies of them through the grace of God amongst vs to this day. The Hebrew tongue not so much in generall desire of schollers, seruing specially for the legall Scriptures and Prophets, I will pretermit, as also the Chaldean, Syrian, and Arabicke, peculiar to deepe Diuines and Doctors of the Church, *Talmudistes*, *Alcumistes*, and *Caballistes*, surreaching the common apprehension and vse of Counsellors and Statesmen. Heereupon a question may bee projected vnto mee, Why then these Greeke and Latine languages might not serue (*instar omnium*) to fulfill all meanings & purposes by good and faithfull vnderstanding amongst princes and nations in their treaties, consultations, leagues, pactions, sessions, conuentions, accords, assemblies, or other priuate parlyes of like nature, being tongues so generally well knowne and studied in so many Realmes? My solution is replicatively, that they cannot passe currant amongst all forraine princes and much remote Monarchies: for if that amplitude of the former Grecian and Roman dominions, occasioned a kind of vniforme, vse, or peculiaritie of those tongues, as being the true mother languages in all the Realmes, Prouinces, and Seignories subiected to them: it doth then illatiuely follow by the like necessitie, that if our Christian Princes neere vs should send in very weightie causes men of perfection in those two languages, to the great Turke or Persian, it would bee very difficult and troublesome: for so much as their Monarchies extend much further than all Christendome doth beside. Wherefore I iudge (by the same reason) that the language amongst them is for the most part either Persian or Turkish, and not knowne to any Christians, except to some few Christian merchants or slaues, which haue commeced with them. For since the beginning of those Mahemetane Monarchies of Turkes and Persians, our Christians haue alwayes held that people execrable and perfidious: so that their vulgar speech (by those Christians which inhabit the very skirts of Turkey vnder *Rodolph* the Emperour) is little or not at all practised in these dayes. Besides, what a shame it were concerning certaine honourable affaires and policies of the State in any Realmes and Common-weales to chuse some merchant or negotiator, which should discharge the Office of a most noble embassadour, and to deale in causes of highest consequence onely, because he can speake and vnderstand the Persian or Turkish tongues. Neither will that

- A** that excellent Greeke tongue, which former writers haue vsed, and which is at this day so much practised amongst the Schollers in Christendome, serue therefore in those Pagan parts, in regard, that all or the greatest part of Greece is now subiect to the Turke, and in such respect sooner vnderstood: because that excellent refined Greeke (euen as in old Italie the Latine) is wholly corrupt and altered, through the long and ruinous discontinuance of those two famous Monarchies. I conclude therefore, that it is not onely needfull for such as are Counsellors to mightie Kings and Princes, to be well skilled in the best languages of Christendome; but much behoofefull in respect of the Turkes and Persians also: which thing though it may seeme amongst our
- B** countrey nobles rare and difficult, yet is *tanto preclarius, & viro verè nobili dignius*. For the time may come in any Christian Empire, that some necessities, or other, shall require and importune the knowledge of those tongues.

One speciall point remaineth, wherein I would for our owne nations glorie wish, that all our countrey men would be very studious, and according to their faculties forward and ayding, that is, to labour how they may copiously deuise and adde words, deriued from the Latines, from the French and Dutch languages, fitly fashioned vnto the true Dialect and Ideome of our vulgar.

An Exhortation to make famous and precious our English language amongst a parts of Christendome.

- For considering that the Latine, French, Italian, Spanish, and Germane
- C** tongues grew famous, copious, and ample by the commerce and entercourse of marchants, and by the repaire of embassadors and other strangers, mutually passing and repassing too and from forraine countries amongst vs; after that their monarchies and dominions were amplified, enriched, and magnified: what doubt is then left to vs, why this our English tongue (which in it selfe is so sweet and copious, wherein wee can so succinctly knit vp much matter) but that by continuance of this Monarchie, diuinely and happily strengthened by our sacred Soueraigne and his royall issue; the same may bee desired, taught, and sought for from all places, amongst our friends, neighbours, and confederates in Christendome hereafter, which may repaire and entercommune to and with vs?
- D** The weakenesse of our former estate, and the youngnesse of our language established in the last deducted Normane Colonies, from the Conquest, and before, did not admit hitherto that perfection, which might haue in times past encouraged either the French or other potent Nations greatly to respect our tongue, vnlesse some of those marchants, which (in regard of the present necessitie put vpon them by the entercourse and exchange of their wares) were forceably driuen vnto it. This contempt and viletie therfore hath hetherto letted many singular wits of excellent hope and learning (wherewithall by the naturall temperature of that climat vnder which we liue, our nation is diuinely endowed) to write bookes in English: and the
- E** neglect thereof I feare hath hurt vs in the glorie of that sweet Latine tongue also: for it was not vnknowne to the learned of this nation, how little their language was and would be respected in other countries. But soone in successe of time, from the later yeeres of king Edward the third (after whose

victories had in Fraunce) the peace and foyson of this land gaue some first light to our language (notwithstanding, that euen then our law pleadings, according vnto *Glanville* and *Bracton*, were first written in French) diuerse did write some Bookes, Pamphlets, Rymes, Romances, and Stories in barbarous English; some of which were translated out of other tongues: Howbeit, eyther for their owne priuate vse and practise, or for the meere benefite of our countrey men onely, to little pleasure, and lesse profite of after times: which being then as a garden; wherein were some good hearbes and simples of our owne, and from other parts and countries brought and confusedly planted, hath yeerely since then from time to time beene bettered, encreased, and reduced into squares, knots, and curious compartements, diapred with pleasant flowers, and brought into comely fashion. The best of these which first began to reduce the confused garden of our language into some proportion, were the two laureate knights of their times, *Gower* and his Scholler *Chaucer*, in the times of King *Richard* the second, and King *Henry* the fourth. One *Lydgate*, a Monke of *Edmonsburie*, succeeded them in that worke: most of whose patternes were taken and translated out of Latine, French, and Italian, intermingled with some other excellent inuentions of their owne, not including any great matters, tending vnto gouernment and moralitie. Diuerse of whole words, by times continuance, and the choice of better being antiquated (like hearbes withered from the roote) haue beene seconded with richer inuentions: according vnto that saying of the Poet *Horace*.

In arte Poet.

*Multa renascuntur qua iam cecidere; Cademque
Qua nunc sunt in honore vocabula.*

Many words long time out of vse renew,
And th'after age our best words will eschew.

For words (he sayth) like leaues yeerely wither and renew. Towards this excellent worke, we find for our more helpe, that the Latine verbes sweetely confound with our English tongue: the French aptly doth offer it selfe to polish this workmanship; and the Italian doth in many things yeeld much helpe and dignitie to the same. The Germane, from whose old stocke our first Monosyllabicall roots by their old Colonies were inducted, is of it selfe the garden plot, alreadie well tyllled and copiously manured, to bring forth this language. And since those dayes of more difficult obscuritie, the Latine Bible by diuers learned Bishops, in the reignes of king *Henry* the eighth, and of his sonne king *Edward*, was translated into the vulgar: also certaine Chronicles, Treatises, and Translations of that time haue added much light to the former darkness. But since the dayes of blessed Queene *Elizabeth* (whose happie reigne is as the dayes of heauen) what seas of paper haue beene alwayes furthering, polishing, and encreasing this honorable enterprize: First, by that holy Bibles more

- A** more exquisite and polite translation than before : after by the bookes of Monuments, Chronicles, Treatises, and Translations, Theologicall and humane, by most ingenuous Poets ; and other Poeticall pamphlets, alwayes with studious addition, and curious composition of words, phrases, and sentences: howbeit, amongst the rest, as a very memorable register of English eloquence, highly deseruing endlesse remembrance, which liueth in his owne liuing workes, Sir *Philip Sidney*, that diuine staire of sweet wit and inuention, hath so much honoured the language of this nation, in that his small hye of all excellent humanitie, inuoloping vnder the true Poeticall vine leaues of his labours such excellent sweet clusters of Philosophicall grapes and inuentions, both morall
- B** & naturall, as haue mightily benefited towards this rich vintage of our English knowledge. Since therefore these great hopes and helpes are left vnto vs: first, by God in his grace plentifully poured into the wits of this nation : secondly, vnder his great power by the kings most excellent Maiestie, through that auspicious amity and perfect Monarchie, established and growing more & more mightie betwixt all good Christian princes and vs : and lastly, by that golden gift of peace, deriued from Gods sweet mercy seat, and from the true prudence and sapience of our gracious Soueraigne, and of his reuerend Counsell, which may giue all liuely perfections and faculties to learning ; why doe we not then with a cheerefull and mutuall alacritie combine in our wits, studies, & knowledge, to make our countrey famous with our owne bookes and writings.
- C** Certainly, this enterprize, as it is vertuous and laudable, so is it glorious, and highly profitable.

Let vs therefore with cheerefull consent imitate those other great Empires, that our wits, learning, and inuentions, by diuine benefite equalling the best of theirs, our bookes and languages, with our men and marchandizes, may louingly bee receiued and embraced amongst them also. Then shall this our puissant little Monarchie, like a sweete fountaine, (which the further it floweth, imboketh into the more spacious and deepe channell) bee more and more magnified, *Cum ingeniorum iste corporis ignauia*, When this drowsie slothfulnesse of our wits cannot bee found amongst vs, but that we still studie to become famous in our vulgar, as those ancient Greeke and Roman writers declared in their ancient mother tongues. Encourage and gird your selues therefore with a pleasant equanimitie to this excellent seruice: for the ground being enlarged, hath left ample space for many seeds, and choice of hearbes and roots than was before : it shall bee strongly fenced with peace and plentie, when vertuous spirits shake off that idlenesse, which hindereth so glorious a worke ; so well fenced and fortified it shall bee, that nothing shall come in hereafter to corrupt or deface your garden, so Geometrically set and deuised. For sure it is, if the world and Gods blessing continue but

- D** one age of a man from this instant, our language will bee so much required by these childrens children in Fraunce, Spaine, and Italie, as those their tongues with vs at this day. Then shall bee left matter sufficient, and as King: worthie for Commentaries to bee written by our learned *Cesar* in his warres ; or in his peaceable affaires, so much diuine, morall, and naturall

Philosophie by the *Salomon* of our nation: then shall wee find substance for the penne of *Linie*, and pleadings for the bookes of *Cicero*: *Seneca* shall haue his place againe, but in a glorious Sunne-shine, and fill this new Monarchie with his sage considerations. I write this therefore, oft and againe iterating it, that many *Linies*, *Senecaes*, and *Ciceroes* shall flourish vnder our *Cesar*, if wee will worke out the fruit of our vertues by such vertuous contemplations and exercises, as may much dignifie their countries.

It is most certaine, that ingenuous natures and vertuous spirits (whose diuine rationally ought to be fixed vpon perfect glorie) are in a continuall combat and ciuile commotion within themselves, if they doe not imploy their cogitations and studies in morall contemplation, still labouring like a woman with child to bring forth some excellent faire birth like themselves. But this luxurious whirlepoole of idlenesse and sloth (into which such excellent wits are very soone and violently throwne) ouerwhelmeth that sweete reason, oppressing this noble birth, made abortiue in the very chrest of conception: *Gloria namque industria alitur ubi eam demperis ipsa per se virtus, amara & aspera est, &c.* Industrie is fostered by glorie: take away glorie, which is the reward of vertue, and the tast thereof is harsh and bitter. When therefore the vertuous Prince himselfe, and those noble arches of his Monarchie, shall perceine this their towardnesse and trauaile in vertues, little doubt is there, that the reward of their studies and vertues shall not encourage posteritie more and more to make learning as cheape in England and Scotland, as euer it was amongst the Greekes and Romanes.

The knowledge of Hystories is another quality most concerning a Counsellour: as with notable attention and dilligence to peruse and marke the Records, Annales, and Chronicles of all ages, people, and princes, together with the written stories of friends, neighbours, and enemies. Historie is a viue experience of matters, the parent of Philosophie, a collection of all things, in all ages authorized by good triall and practise of many men. This is it which *Diodorus* in the Proheme of his Hystories doth affirme, *Will reach us, what ought to be the principall scope of our desires and deseestations*. This which summoneth all creatures of all countries and fashions as to a generall muster: imitating his diuine providence, which in heauenly iustice and bountie bestoweth vpon euerie man according to demerit: all vertuous actions are eternized by the penne of Hystorie: so farre doth it surpass the sage counsels and golden sentences of our forefathers and former Philosophers, as times continuance comprehendeth more examples than one mans age. This is it which maketh young mens iudgements of parill ripenesse with old age, grounding aged persons in the depth of wisedome; to whome long experience hath already ministered a dayly triall of causes. It maketh priuate men fit for Empire, and Emperours earnest in vertue for victories; heartening souldiours to giue a courageous charge vpon perils, for honour of their countries, terrifying malefactors, propagating Soueraignetie by good example, deuising lawes, inuventing arts, preferring vertuous actions, enfranchised from mortalitie; declaring it selfe a memorable and perfect marble-register of misdeedes, and generally

A rally beneuolent. This is it which aged time onely nourisheth, when it eateth vp all things: besides, this is the patterne of eloquence, the true mirrour of Philosophie, the garden of knowledge: and hence is it, that *Aristotle* in his Politickes writeth, how the skill of actions and Histories of deedes done most imports a Counsellor to learne, because things future are like their parent which came before them: vpon which all euents of actions commonly depend. Hee therefore, which in noble Hyſtorie shall contemplate and meditate vpon the life of a good Prince or Counsellor, may find somewhat alwayes worth his own obseruation and practise; according to that saying of *Seneca*: *Aliquis vir bonus elegendus est nobis, ac semper ante oculos habendus, ut sic viuamus tanquam illo spectanti, & omnia faciamus tanquam illo videnti*: We must propose some one good man for our patterne, and alwayes looke vpon him with the eyes of our mind, that wee may so liue, as if hee were looking vpon vs; and so deale, as if all our actions were performed in his sight. Let a souldiour liue fortie yeares in seruice; great, and of continuall commaund, as great *Alexander* and *Caius Caesar*, escape in many conflicts, as *Anniball* and *Cato*; receiue so many wounds, as *Scipio* and *Scaua*; triumph in so many victories, subuert so many cities, deuise so many stratagemes, consult vpon so many leagues, and truces, enterparley with so many princes, spending the full glasse of his time during those yeeres in magnificent actions, and noble consultations onely,

C like *Cirus Themistocles, Epaminondas, Cimon, Fabius, Pelopidas*, and infinite others, auncient, and late: yet shall one moneths reading in *Linie, Plutarch, Diodorus, Thucydides, Polybius, Xenophon, Dion*, and some few more, (which haue eternally recorded all the memorable actions and vertues of them all) open more vnto him without bloudshed (if hee will studiously conſerre, and reasonably remember) than euer the seruice of many more yeeres, with the slaughters of Myriads of souldiours, could expresse. The knowledge of all persons, the meaning of all matters, the depth of all secrets is locked vp in Hyſtorie. In it wee find that inestimable treasure of the Lawes, by which Commonweales were first ordered and instituted, in the sentences of sage and prudent men; confirming societies in peace, and magnifying them by vertues: like *Phyſicke*, which is an hyſtoricall commemoration or rapsodie of experiments, made by *Phyſitions* of old; by whose Aphorismes and Precepts our *Phyſitions* direct their iudgements and medicines: it is a methodicall Schoole-master of humane life, exemplifying the fashions and natures of people, a certaine experience of their actions, a sound and prudent Counsellor in difficult affaires. The cruelties and exceeding lust of *Domitian*, and of *Nero*, which may be read in *Tacitus*, hath power to terrifie princes from those vices which are recorded of them: when also they peruse the lamentable stories of *Caligula*, that *Fax & fex hominum*: That fire-brand, and filth of men: When they reuolue the monstrous obscenities of *Heliogabalus*, who was amongst the people a Cannon by word, ſcorne, and obloquie: when they shall looke into the leaues of *Maximus* his life; than whom, no man was amore cruell slaughter man of his countrey, finding what horrible epithetes, denominations, and attributes; were worthely throwne, or (as it were) spit

into the blacke legend of his bloudie gouernment, being called in diuers places *Buſyris*, *Phalaris*, *Typhon*, what better precedent can remaine in detestation of vice? Contrariwise, the blessed and peaceable reigne of *Octavian*, the goodnesse and gracious condition of *Traian*, of *Pertinax*, of *Titus*, and some others, are vehement prouocations, to confirme and encourage Princes in iustice and honestie. For euen as women (which curiously fashion and attire their heads and bodies by their glasse, which representeth vnto them all vndecent and comely guizes) will presently shew themselves abroad amongst the people, finding their bodies by that myrrour pleasingly garnished: so Princes by the like resemblance find in the glasse of hystories, that which giueth spurs to their vertues and policie.

The case is lamentable, and I haue many times with heauinesse thought it, how few be the Chronologiers and Historians of our age, how doubtfull and vnfaithfull much of their matter, how fearefully and vainly seduced by misprizion and affection. Sure I am, that infinite actions remaine worthie the penne of hystories: nay, that which men write of their own princes and nation, tendeth lesse to truth than vnto vaine-glorie: but that which is written by men of forraine princes & people (such as *Mercury Gallobelgicus* falsely proclaimed in his Annales of the world) is both vncertaine, fallacious, and strongly fauouring of malice, blind zeale, and partiall motions of the mind. Whereas if men would faithfully search out by the true records and memorials of realmes and Commonweales the vertuous and vicious actions of princes and people, how would it instigate and deterre the well and ill affected rulers and commons of the world to take hold and detestation of goodnes & euill? In reading of them therefore we must carefully quote the map of actions, with the times & places, the causes, executions, and cuents of things, wherein some did prosper, and others perish, with the reasons why those were gracious, and these vnwelcome. If any glorious matter happened, whether it came by chaunce or felicitie, by vertue, or good counsell, what impediments in contrarie did cause it miscarry. A Counsellor should also consider by this knowledge, what alterations haue formerly beene: as in the realmes of England, Scotland, Fraunce, Ireland, Spaine, Denmarke, Italy, with other Nations: what Families possessed the Crownes of them, and by what titles and meanes, how long, what the causes of those mutations were, how many of euery familie did reigne, which of the princes was most religious, valiant, wise, and fortunate; which not: how many battailes euery prince fought, against whom, at what time, where, and vpon what occasion: what warres haue beene for a thousand and six hundred yeeres past and since, betwixt England and Fraunce, England and Scotland, England and Spaine, England and Ireland, England and Denmarke: what with Wales, what with Heathens, and Mahemetans: what ciuile and intestine commotions: which and in how many battailes that were conquerors: what occasioned their ruine or victorie; also the causes and captaines of commotions, how they were vanquished or quieted: what benefite or mischiefe ensued thereon. Hee that can well and aptly make relation hereof, may passe the master, with more than ordinarie pay for his paines.

- A** If a Counsellor therefore, hauing vnderstanding requisite, accustome himselfe with patience in much reading, (which is commonly most yrekesome to the purest and most precious wits) that benefite is vnspeakeable, which by the knowledge of hystories shall enrich his mind and vnderstanding: considering how the examples of a priuate and publicke life, the beginnings, augmentations, proceedings, conseruations, and inclinations of realmes, with all ciuile commutations, are discovered by them. The knowledge of which shall not be very long in attaining: for so much as men of this place shall find noble vse thereof dayly.
- B** Prudence is one speciall gift of God, attained by prayer and the due feare of his Majestie, which (as the wise *Salomon* sayth) is the *beginning of all wisdom*. Since therefore it doth principally respect the knowledge and practise of wise magistrates to be possessed of that princely iewell, I will in so short as I can open the substance thereof, according to the morall obseruations in Philosophie. Prudence therefore is the Gouvernesse and Iudge of all vertue, the knowledge which teacheth men how to liue blamelesse, or a true mentall affection, declaring (as *Cicero* writeth) what honest and profitable things (with their contraries) wee should desire and detest. It is likewise a kind of *cunning*, which with a mysticall, honest, and profitable dissimulation *myndeth into the depth of causes and actions*. And in another definition, *Est bona animi affectio & habitus indagandi quod verum sit*: It is a good affection, and habite of the mind, to sent out the truth. Prudence is either large and vniuersall, which wee may tearme heroicall prudence, or a vertue strict and distinguished, that (being composed of consultation, cunning, opinion, and sagacitie) openeth the truth in all actions: and therefore it is imposed as an euerlasting iewell and endlesse victorie both in peace and warre, for any prince to weare neere himselfe. *Duo sunt quae ab egregijs principibus expetuntur: sanctitas domi, in armis fortitudo, utrobique prudentia*: Two properties are required in excellent good princes: in his Realmes sanctitie, in his warres fortitude; in both places prudence. The substance of prudence is truth; by which humane reason should entirely be governed. Truth is the Medium betwixt arrogance and dissimulation, mouing men to shew themselves plaine in word and deed. There is another definition of politicall truth, not much different: *which is a kind of habite, so speake a truth in all publicke and priuate causes, without any fraud, arrogance, or dissimulation*. Towards the knowledge of truth (by lore of Philosophie) five vertuous qualities are required. The first is Science, being a sure and infallible knowledge and apprehension of any thing, which may proceed out of the causes thereof, either by naturall instinct, or some other reasonable demonstrations: as in Theologicall and Mathematicall practise: for so much as the learning contained in those
- E** Sciences, teacheth such things as cannot easily be wrested otherwise by reason. As first appeareth by the definition of Religion, which is the scale or bond of Theologie, being the true feare, loue, and honour of God: which religion bringeth a zealous care and reuerent ceremonie towards the worship of a superiour nature; which nature we call diuine, because it so farre exceedeth

Cic. in Rhetor. ad Herenn.

In vita Pl. Traiani.

deth the corruption and perfectest apprehension of man: and amongst others by the Prophet *David* vnto the kings of this earth, as a monition or exhortation, it is deliuered: *Vnderstand, O you Kings: serue the Lord with feare, and reioyce in him with trembling, &c.* And therefore if religion were nothing but humane policie (which the damned and execrable Atheists imagine in their foolishnesse) yet must wee certainly know, that if the feare of God aboue were not, men would contemne all lawes and vertue: imagining, that all men had free leaue in their owne corrupt natures (which they most impiouly would make their God, and be by the same directed) to doe their owne hearts lusts. The Mathematickes also (*Qua sunt quasi comites & administra viri politici*): Which are as it were the companions and agents of a Polititian: and which *Plutarch* placeth in the soule of man, as being a part of the Theorique or contemplatiue faculties) are arts likewise, which cannot otherwise bee wrested. And hence is it, that Science is called, *Habitus demonstrandi per causas*: A habite of demonstration by reasons. The second meanes towards the knowledge of truth, is art: being a kind of mentall habit or experimentall skill to performe and perfect things by such means, as without them they otherwise may bee done; and as *Tacitus* writeth: *Apud maiores virum id primum fuit, cunctisque ciuium (si fiderent bonis artibus) licitum petere Magistratus*: It was proposed to our auncestors, and vnto all citizens for a reward of their vertues, and as a thing allowable, to sue for reputations and offices, if they did build vpon their knowledge in good arts. And from hence are all trades, professions, and mysteries (by which men liue and attaine worldly happinesse) drawne and deriued. The third part of truth is Prudence it selfe, being a certaine habite, effecting such things by reason, as either tend vnto the weale or harme of persons. Hence is it called Prudence in men, to consult graciously for themselves and others, to gouerne priuate families, and to serue or minister vnto the Commonwealt in publicke causes fortunately and beneficially. The fourth being Intelligence, nobly placed in the mind of man, is a kind of habite, moouing the mind, enclining and yeelding it selfe constantly to things, which cannot be by demonstration perfected. It is likewise a certaine habite of experiment had in the principles, or heads and grounds of causes, from whence all proofes are drawne. The adiuncts and parts of Intelligence (according to *Mesopius* the Pythagorean Philosopher) are iudgement and contemplation, both of them issuing from reason. The fifth and last part of truth is Sapience; being a most absolute and perfect knowledge of such things as are contained within the limits of humane apprehension, as well in metaphysicall as in naturall causes: howbeit; especially leuelling at diuine matters, according to the definition of it: *Qua est rerum diuinarum amplissima scientia*: Which is a most ample skill had of diuine matters. Onely that which regardeth humane policies or affaires, is more properly termed Prudence: which (as *Aristotle* sayth) is the cause, meanes, or procurer of Sapience. But of this last part of truth I haue spoken more at large elsewhere. Vnto prudence therefore, as companions, are assigned Intelligence, which is (as I said) a perfect vnderstanding of matters: Science a trust apprehension of

In Moral.

Lib. 11. Amal.

In lib. de virt.

Lib. 1. cap. ult.
Ethicorum.

A of causes; Art a true demonstration or enſignemnt of things: and Sapience a ſure and certaine indagation of diuine knowledge. *Aristotle* attributeth to prudence three parts: the firſt, *Ευθελεια*, which is a kind of power or facultie, to giue good counſell in time of neede: then *Αγνοια*, reſpecting a mature deliberation and perfection in doing of buſineſſe: thirdly, *Συνοια*, or intelligence; which is a prouidence, canning, or expert iudgement to put that in execution, which hath bene by right counſell preconfulted and determined. It is likewiſe the part of a prudent perſon, to know much in generall, and in particulars, to keepe in readie ſtore and memorie, things long before done and paſt if they bee notable: to ſee darts, arrowes, and all ſerious accidents of
B good hope and danger, long before they come; by which gift they may preuent and auoid the worſt, turning that which is good to the beſt ſucceſſe; and weighing the condition of things, as they ſtand in preſent ſtate within the ſcales of reaſon and diſcretion: likewiſe, to be well aduiſed in all conſiderations and conſultations; to be circumſpect, iudicious, and of a good conuerſation, as well in reſpect of others, as for his owne ſake; to ponder well the circumſtances and attributes of men and matters: for by the mutations of ſuch things wee find it often ſucceede, how that will bee ratified and made lawfull on the morrow, which was the day before prohibited and puniſhed.

C The difference likewiſe of perſons, & of their qualities, by the reſpects had vnto their faults and puniſhment (as for example, in malicious killing vpon reuenge, in compariſon of them that doe it in defence of their owne perſons, by the law of nature, and for neceſſities ſake, in making ſacriledge the worſt kind of theft; and (in generall) when by due diſcretion the ſtate and condition of people and cauſes, either high, great, humble, or ſmall, are examined and reſpected: for by this courſe is the rule of decencie kept.

Moreouer, prudence diſperſeth her force and vertues into three parts: firſt, into the condition monaſticall (if I may ſo tearme it) which appertaineth all particular perſons in their peculiar eſtates ſeuerally: the ſecond, into
D the ſtate Oeconomicall, which reſpecteth the adminiſtration of each priuate familie; which *Xenophon* tearmeth the art of diſpenſation. The third and laſt being the beſt and right excellent part (wherin prudence ſheweth moſt force) is the ſtate politicall alwayes employed in ciuile cauſes, generally working for the Common-wealth, beeing a true kind of ſcience to which thoſe of this counſell muſt bee firſt bound apprentices, before their adoption into this ſocietie.

Hee therefore, that would bee a good maſter in his owne familie, muſt firſt by good demeanure and conuerſation amongſt his neighbors hold himſelfe vp, that he may purchaſe a generall good opinion, witneſſe, and commendation of his integritie; being by thoſe excellent deſerts made fit for the
E gouernment of a familie. Which when he knoweth by that circumſpection, accuſtomed in his owne particular carriage, how to gouerne, then ſhall hee likewiſe haue his faculties by good helpe of morall obſeruations and practice of vertues, ſurely knit and enhabled to giue counſell, and adminiſter in

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this

*Cic. in partioni-
bus Orator.*

this principall Office vnder the King or Commonwealth: for if hee cannot moderate himselfe, how shall he rule in Oeconomie? Neither can any man, not being exceedingly perfect in them both (with other excellent suppliments and vertuous helps, such as you shall hereafter reade in this booke of Offices) deserue the place of a Counsellor. Howbeit, for as much as these two last, concerning the administration of priuate families, beeing called a Domestickall, and this other noble part seemably tearmed a Ciuile gouernment, are specially directed and guided by Prudence, I will therefore in briefe declare, what the learnedest Philosophers haue noted concerning them.

Oikonomia, which is the forme of house-gouernment, respecteth the good order of euery mans familie, correspondent in profite and honestie to the places, degrees, and habilities of the maisters; whether they bee princes, noblemen, citizens, or priuat persons consisting of men (which includeth the maister, wife, children, and seruants) and of possessions, comprehending house and domesticall substance. They which might haue first beene worthely reputed Oeconomickall maisters, were *Adam*, *Enoch*, *Noah*, with diuers euen to the time of *Ioseph* the patriarch: who did gouerne the kingdome of Egypt, establishing it with new lawes. Amongst these, *Melchisedech* named a king, and *Abraham*, who (though in forraine countries he were a stranger) yet ioyned with kings, gouerning his familie by politicall and Oeconomickall Empire, and maintaining warres in defence of his people. The maister of the house-hold therefore ought first to know, and put his whole power in practise, towards the preservation of his wife and children, in vnion and societie, which both Reason and Law doth naturally moderate, beeing by sacred writ of the Testaments ordained, and vnder that commaundement established by the diuine sanctions of Christianitie, that they should be legitimate, begotten in wedlocke, and not the children of many fathers, according to the licentious rule of *Plato*: secondly, that the father vnto them and to his seruants shew beneuolence, and be tractable. His familie must be disposed in decent order: food, cloth, maintenance, with house conuenient and answerable to the retinue, must be provided, according to the nature of that place where he liueth. Wherin he must prudently consider, whether the ayre, which fostereth the places enuironing his house, be cold, hot or temperat: whether scituate vpon the continent, or sea coast, neere a riuer or poole, high, low, fennish, moist, fertile, barren, neere the barbarous and aduerser borderer, or remote; or to what winds it is most opposed, with such like: for according to these obseruations, houses are edified and fortified; streets enlarged or straightened. Vnto which publicke workes, for the edification, amplification, or restauration of houses, villages, or cities, a Counsellors prudence is needfully required.

Let them take heed of exceeding sumptuousnesse and ouergorgeous magnificence in building, about the proportion of their lands and reuenues, enuironning and answering the same: for it were better, that large demesnes required mansion houses, than that glorious manners should want meanes to support

- A** support and furnish out their magnificence. Concerning familiar maintenance (which is either domesticall, respecting tyllage, pasturage, parkes for game, warrens of hares and conies, hawking, fishing, vineyards, orchards, hop-yards, gardens, and such like; or artificiall, conuersing in arts, handycrafts, trades, and mysteries; in part liberall, as painture, typographie, masonrie, with the like, and partly not) it must bee decent, honest, needfull, and allowable: for the worthinesse of a good house-holder is mentall, and not corporall. *Qui enim domum aut villam extruit, eamque signis, auleis, alijsque operibus exornat, & omnia potius quam semet visendum exhibet, non diuitias decori sed ipse illis est flagitio:* For that person which buildeth a house or towne, and garnisheth it with armes, hangings, and other workes; making euery thing more specious therein than himselfe, is not honourable in regard of his riches, but meerely scandalizeth them, through his owne imperfections. Such gaynes as Vsurers, Publicanes, and Iewes of that profession make to liue vpon by the destruction of others, is most abhominable and odious: for so much as it gayneth by coynes. Whereas it is euident, that coynes were not deuised, because they should both beget and beare fruit of themselves, (being a thing hatefull and repugnant to nature) but ordained therefore, that other commodities (by meanes of exchange) should yeeld vs benefite thereby. For *Tacitus* to prooue this, writeth, That the old Germanes, when coyne was first vsed amongst them, did onely loue it for commerce and exchange of marchandize. *Etiā quod argentum magis quam aurum sequebantur nulla affectatione animi, sed quia numerus argenteorum facilius vsui est promiscua & vilis mercantibus.* Euen because they did more desire to haue siluer than gold: not for any vaine affectation of their mind, but because the number and value of their siluer coynes was more fit for their vse in buying and selling of diuerse cheape things of sundry natures. Semblably, those trades of adulterat marchandize and traffique in buying or selling of wares (which are enriched by perfidious brocage, leasings, and such dishonesties) bee very contemptible. Panders likewise and brutish baudes, the ministers of licencious voluptuositie, with mercenarie Players, Buffones, Fiddlers, Iugglers, Flatterers, and couening companions, liuing vpon any kind of vnlawfull and dishonest shifts, by the confusion of ingenuous persons, of a liberall nature, young, and vnexperienced in worldly guile, are most loathsome and filthy.
- B**
- C**
- D**

Let that therefore, which is the fountaine and profession of maintenance to them that are house-holders, be iust, honest, and profitable: that which is so gotten also, let it be frugally spent and husbanded, as it is commendably gayned: that euery man according to his place, apport, and qualitie, may maintaine that decent state, which shall best answere to the glory of his owne countrey, where hee breatheth. But if *O Domus antiqua* might in *Ciceroes* time bee spoken of many, when this crooked world was sixteene hundred yeeres and more younger than it is, and not growne to that extreame auance, vnto which all aged creatures of nature, by course more and more en-

cline: what may be said of those pompous buildings at this day, which haue
chimneyes without fires, lodgings without strangers, kitchens without meat,
faire hals without that old and comely guard of stout yeomanrie, for which
England hath beene formerly famouled: In choice of a wife (if a man might
so haue it) this were to bee wished, that men towards thirtie yeeres of their
age ioyne in marriage with some young woman, not much aboute twentie,
both of them equall in substance and birth so neere as may be, well brought
vp in modestie, good huswiferie, prudent, of honest parentage, not dispar-
aging him in any thing, neither proud, nor malicious and froward, but such as
may both loue him well, and be worthely beloued againe; the persons, their
state and qualitie considered: ouer whom he may not (vpon any iealous mis-
constructions, villanous suspect, or opinionatiue report of malicious tongues) G
beare a heauie hand, without certaine and manifest apparance of her disho-
nest carriage: but in all his actions towards her, demean himselfe honestly,
godly, decently, benignely, mildly, beeing directed by the rule of Christiani-
tie, that though he know himselfe to be the head of that double vnited bodie;
yet he may so repute and esteeme of her, as of that other halfe of him-
selfe, ioyning with her in equall care and diligence towards the vertuous edu-
cation and instruction of his children, as hee did with her in procreation of
them: considering, that education is the first, second, and third part of life;
without which according to Philosophie all learning is as it were armed ini-
quitie: the definition of Education is: *Liberorum tam in sanitate totius corpo-
ris, quam in singularum partium concinnitate diligens conseruatio*; The parents di-
ligent conseruation of their children, both in health of bodie, and in a generall
cleanly propertie through all parts. And in this sort also *Cicero*, the schol-
ler of *Xenocrates*, hath distributed mans life: the first, part, to bee bestowed in
vertuous contemplation and practise; the second, in recreation and exercise
for corporall health; the third, for honest pleasures; and the fourth for the iust
acquisition and collection of treasure. So that the first threescore yeeres haue
reference to the education, as well for particular as generall gouernment (whe-
ther Oeconomical or Politicall) the second prouideth in arming himselfe for
death to benefit posteritie. The care of a wife is also to ioyne with her husband
in prouision for her children, that they be furnished with corporall necessaries,
answerable to her estate, exercising them in true religion and obedience, disci-
plining them in arts and trades, according to their natures and capacities, or as
his faculties require. He must also keepe a iust audite of his gettings and expen-
ces, ordering and husbanding his goods with such a prouident hand, as that
somewhat alwayes (according to the proportion of his liuing) be with a fatherly
fore sight reserved each yeere towards their stocke and prosperitie to come.
Howbeit, if he be noble, or of such worth, as that by the vertues, paines, & wor-
thinesse of his antecessors hee need not to labour for his liuing, but hath of his
owne without industrie to supplie that charge: then must he so moderate and
temper himselfe to frugalitie, that he neither seeme prodigall, nor couetous;
but liberall and like himselfe, suiting with his place and condition; If he liue by
trade,

A trade; his apprentices must be well vsed, and diligently taught his science and cunning: if otherwise (keeping and retaining seruants for his traine and countenance, with workmen which attend his labour for wages) he should see that they bee with good respect and answerable to their qualities entertained and kept in their offices, hauing their wages and hire benignely and carefully paid vnto them at times fit and limited, prouiding that they grow not insolent, contentious, or malicious amongst themselues, but temperate and honest. The respects which ought to be required in a wife, are a diligent and dayly care of her house, that she personally looke to those household commodities and seruices her selfe as is fit: that she behaue her selfe honestly towards her husband: that she be no scold, nor maliciously demeane her selfe: that she teach and instruct her children and women seruants in modest conuersation, knowledge, and behavior: that she bee not proud, neither sumptuous nor sluttish: which those sweet Oracles of wisdom and Oratorie, king *Salomon* and blessed *Paul* haue diuinely and luculently declared, as is read in holy scriptures, That if strength serue, she giue sucke to her owne children her selfe: for as much as all Philosophers hold it the most naturall and best course of nourishing infants: that she teach vnto them frugalitie, reseruing and encreasing her husbands stocke with her owne huswiferie. In briebe (as *Freigius* in his Oeconomicks noteth) that she be modest, stout, iust, and silent.

C In like sort, that children should bee brought vp in the true knowledge, feare, and worship of God, in obedience, loue, and honour, to their parents, in patience of their fathers severity: that they bee silent without procacitie, when he speaketh: that they be dutifull vnto their schoolemasters, and vnto those that teach vnto them the gouernment of themselues: that they be studious of those arts and professions to which their parents haue applied them: that they be taught to loath pestilent idlenesse and voluptuositie, being the perdition and confusion of all youth, from the highest to the basest: that they be reuerend towards magistrates and vnto their betters: that they bee true in word and deede: that they lend dutifull and willing eares vnto the words and instructions of men learned, honest, and wise: that they bee modest. For in all his Dialogues wee find, that *Plato* with most vehemence and principally doth adhort parents to be carefull in education of their children, verely beleeuing, *Non posse genus humanum absque gubernatoribus vel honestè viuere, vel facilius gubernari*: That the children of men can neither liue honestly together, nor be gouerned happily without Masters and Rulers. Lastly, the duties required in seruants, are subiection, fidelitie, promptnesse, attention, assiduitie, with obedience vnto their maisters frugalitie, moderation in diet, and apparrell, truth in matters concredited vnto their truth, patience, and facilitie: howbeit, I will (as before) reserue my selfe in this true moralitie vnto the spirit of God, speaking in those Oeconomicall precepts and commaundements, which were deliuered by the blessed Apostles *Peter* and *Paul* in their Epistles, and by our Sauour Christ himselfe, in diuerse places and parables of his holy Gospell, diuinely shewing and teaching the duties

of fathers, wiues, children, husbands, seruants, and of all other magistrates in their places by the lore of decencie. All which Offices of wiues, seruants, and children, haue reference vnto a superiour, by which they bee seclued from hauing absolute power ouer themselues. Such is that diuine force of order, and true disposition in all thinges, which are created of God.

Whether it be lawfull for Christians to retaine slaues, to whom the Gospell hath graunted libertie: such as in diuerse parts of Christendome (vnder the Popes Supremacie) be tollerated and vsed, being in part naturall, and partly legall slaues, as you shall find in the imperiall institutions, *Subrit. de seruis*. I referre my selfe to the learned opinions of Diuines, Cannonists, and ciuile Doctours, which can make a perfect decision of that doubt: but sure am I, that amongst the true professors of Christs Gospell, seruitude is disallowed and abrogated by the generall libertie which was graunted by Christ Iesus to them that beleue. Concerning seruants by nature, I referre my selfe to *Aristotle*.

*Lib. 7. de Rep.
cap. 11.*

As euery familie composed is of seuerall persons, so doth each Commonwealth or citie consist of many families. This assembly being thus associated in the turelage, combination, or communion of one Empire and Law, out of his owne proper force can maintaine, protect, and gouerne the state of his affaires by policie, being the third part of prudence: which (as *Plutarch* defineth in his booke of three Commonweales) is that state and order that euery citie should obserue in the rule and gouernment of things. We find in holy Scripture, how God himselfe ordained this politicall doctrine and order by his immediat seruant and interpreter *Moses*, proposing an example to posteritie, from whence many most behoofefull precedents towards the administration of Kingdoms, Estates, and Seignories may be taken: by this is the Prince himselfe directed, as by some diuine caball, according to his capacitie, and to that grace which God hath poured into the hearts of his secret counsell, how to gouerne all the people of this earth. For euen as to the Pylot his course and compasse, by which he capeth and wendeth, euen as health to the Physition, and victorie to the captaine: so to the Prince and Magistrate, the blessed and peaceable life of his people and citizens is proposed, that they may grow plentiful in riches, powerfull in armes, ample in glorie, constant and honest in vertue. Likewise, wee find those policies most excellent, which king *Dauid*, the figure of our Sauour Christ, vsed: for hee did amplifie the realme of Israel both by peace and warre; adorning it with lawes, iudgements, treasure, armes, and power, encouraged and aduauned the studies of learning, instituted the Leuites, Doctours, Musicians, and other professors of good arts. This ciuile prudence doth (as it were) prescribe vnto citizens their actions, conuerfing in the maintenance of ciuile societies, by the vniformitie of religion, vniuersalitie of iustice, and vnanimie in vertuous contemplation, and praefise; whereby they liue together in pietie towards God, in honestie one towards another, in prudence and tranquillitie respecting their owne priuat and particular estates.

Aristotle

- A** *Aristotle* maketh this difference betwixt the Commonwealth and a priuat familie: That Iustice (by the distribution of equall measure to poore and rich) is most specious in euery Commonwealth: whereas in Oeconomie, the mai-ster of each familie doth at his owne discretion gouerne and dispose matters, as in the person of a prince ouer his children, seruants, and slaues. According to the generall opinion of all good writers, there are fixe formes of policie: whereof the three good are first placed, and the three bad drawne out of the excessse of those best. The first of the good doth consist of the prince his absolute authoritie ouer the people in yea and nay: which men call a Monarchy. But of this more at large in other places ensuing.
- B** *Bodin* writeth, that there are two sorts of Empire or Soueraignetie: *Vnum* Lib. d. 1. c. 1. *sumum; alterum legitimum: illud legibus ac magistratuum imperio solutum, hoc legibus obligatum: sumum autem magistratus est proprium, legitimum Maiestatis:* The first is highest, freed from the strayne of lawes, and from any subiection vnto magistracie; the second legitimate and obliged vnto the lawes: but the highest rule is proper to magistrates, and the legitimate peculiar vnto Maiestie. Wee must consider also, that the king is not onely a parent and author of the lawes, but a most studious and diligent conseruator, and steward of iustice. For in the Common-wealth a Prince is placed, as vpon a stage, whose words and actions the people (vnder and about him) obserue: him if they find iust, and of good demeanure (as I touched in the beginning of this booke) they will imitate: if insolent and wicked, then will they behaue themselves accordingly. *Quales enim sunt in Repub. principes tales reliqui solent fieri ciues:* For such as bee the Princes, such are the people in euery Commonwealth, sayth *Plato*. Howbeit, kings in respect of their Empire, are superiour to the lawes & customes of their realms; which they may comute, antiquate, and abrogate as they list, vnlesse such as haue voluntarily restrained themselves in some particulars to the consent and suffragation of their Peeres and Commons: for so much as kings are the ministers and deputies vnder God: to and from whom they must yeeld account, and receiue punishment, according to their administration to them committed, if they doe abuse the same, or violate their oathes. And all kings for the most part, in causes concerning themselves, will annihilate lawes, or remit and mitigate them, as our dread Soueraigne Lord hath done in pardoning traytors and nefarious enemies of the State, being conuicted. Which counsell he likewise hath giuen vnto that gracious young Prince his sonne, of so great expectation and wonder, as the world hath not seene his peere in towardnesse. But iust Princes will not commonly commute, annihilate, or qualifie those lawes, by which their people may be preiudiced: for such Lawes and Statutes as concerne them, are enacted by their owne consents, not by royall prerogatiue onely. The second
- E** good State dependeth vpon that gouernment, which is referred to a competent number of the wiser noblemen: as if any Prince (being weake of himselfe) should diuolue the whole administration of his State vnto the lords and fellowes of his counsell: and this is called Aristocracie. Which kind of State we reade in holy Scripture to haue continued vnder Iudges, from *Moses* vnto the

the dayes of *Eli*: vnder whome the arke of Gods couenant was lost, and the politicall glorie lamentably defaced. But as it followeth, my iudgement yeeldeth to the learned opinions of others: That there is not any state so laudable and diuine in earthly gouernment, as vnder one, according to that saying of *Nestor* in *Homer*:

Non multos regnare bonum, rex vnicus esto.

Vnius imperium, cui Iupiter aurea magnus

Sceptra dedit, iussisque suis dare iura tuendis.

It is not good, that many kings should rule at once ouer one people: let there bee one king and one kingdome, vnto whome the God of might hath deliuered the golden scepter, commaunding him to make lawes for the preseruatiou and tuition of his people. G

The third good estate of gouernment resteth in the discreet gubernation of the Commons, which is named a Democracie: such as gouerned Athens in times past, and the like amongst the Cantons of Swizzerland, at this day.

Those other three remaining, and framed out of the excesse or outrage of these other three good states predefined, consist in tyrannie, by which the prince, according to lust, and beyond the limits of reason, law, or honestie, cherisheth vicious persons, and by them strengtheneth his owne arme against all good people, which liue oppressed and tortured vnder his gouernment. The life of such tyrants is a continuall perillous and inward warre, because they cannot repute themselves safe either in front, in reare, or on the flanks, they miserably torture themselves with euermore danger & feare. And those are commonly called *Tyranni, qui vi & armis imperium arripiunt*: Which with force and in armes bereaue others of their Realms and Crownes. Such was *Cirus Agathocles*, and others infinite, which maintained their spoyles and rapine by rauening and spoyling. These are they which despise iustice, lawes, and equitie; these which forsake the Commonwealth to multiplie their owne priuate estates; these which vex and oppresse their people with grievous and insupportable tributes and exactions, as vassales and slaues, base and abiect: those of these conditions may not bee called kings, but tyrants and nefarious oppressors: for euen as rauinous wolues greedily rush vpon the flocke, so doe they, to dilaniate and deuour the people of God. The court of a good king containeth the least part of his riches, and his Commonwealth aboundeth and ioyeth in all wealth and worldly felicitie. The tyrant hoordeth vp the peoples treasure, or employeth it to his priuate vse, impouerishing and excoiating the poore subiects. A good king hath a good Angell ayding him in the administration of his estate: a Tyrant is incensed and directed by a most malicious and wicked diuell. A good king punisheth the wicked, and preferreth the vertuous; a Tyrant cutteth off the liues of good men, and prolongeth the dayes of the wicked. A good king thinketh himselfe most powerfull in riches, when his people doth abound in wealth. I

A A tyrant then reputeth himselfe most rich, when he hath robbed the Commonwealth of all their goods : a good king by the Philosophers is called a shepheard ; a tyrant is tearmed a wolfe : finally the good and true king esteemeth much more the life and weale of his people, than his owne life. The Tyrant doth not only thirst after the riches and treasure, but euen after the bloud and liues of his subiects also.

The second euill part of gouernment is called Oligarchie : which is when the Commonwealth or Vniuersalitie bee forceably yoked vnder the violent lusts and empire of a few Nobles : as at Rome in the gouernment of the Duumvirate and Triumvirate : and in Anarchie, when the people confusedly by

B libidinous instinct and auaritious desire, make hauocke of all vnder their gouernment ; vsing all kinds of dishonest pleasures and purchase, as a commendable and most needfull recreation and profite. For the deuill (which is author of confusion and disorder) raigneth in their spirits. Yea, ruinous and most desolate is that Nation like to prooue, whose lawes are made out of their owne lusts and perturbed appetites : *Multitudo namque malis artibus imbuta, deinde in artes vitasque varias dispersa; nullo modo inter se congruens, parum idonea videtur ad capeffendam rempublicam.* For a multitude which is first

*Salut in Oras.
ad Ca. Caf.*

disordered and euill affected, and then dispersed into diuers professions and fashions of liuing, discordant within themselues, are not ineete to take any charge or tuition of the Commonwealth. For the vulgar are neither wise nor discreet, but rash and violent in all their commotions and passions ; especially when they haue the reynes in their owne hands. The violence of which misgouernment caused *Demoisthenes*, a most learned and euer-renowned citizen of Athens, through the peruerse and vniust sentence of the barbarous Athenians, being banished (after the losse of his countrey liberties) to crie forth in the bitternesse of his spirit : *O Pallas, Pallas, qua tribus infestissimis belluis delectaris, noctua, dracone, & populo* : *O Pallas, Pallas*, which takest pleasure in three most pernicious beasts ; in an Owle, in a Dragon, and in the people. Which kind of gouernment is not vnproperly compared to the weltring and

D vnconstant billowes of the sea.

The Romane policie, when their kings were abolished, was by the Senate managed a long time. After which the people retaining a Democraticall state (being attempered with the moderation and authorities royall, and with the Patricians, as appeared in the Consular estate, and in the Senators) did carrie with them the *fascies* and preheminence, vntill the reignes of *Iulius* and *Augustus Caesars*. So that out of the Soueraigne rule of a kingdome, being reuiued in the Consuls ; out of the gouernment Aristocraticall, represented by the Senators ; and out of the Democracie, manifested in the Plebeian Tribunes, a firme and absolute Commonwealth was fashioned.

E Those Monarchies which are esteemed most perfect and excellent at this day, being established by the Senate or Counsell of most prudent persons, aduanced for their true nobilitie to that place with a kind of consent and approbation of the commons, doe moderate, and nobly restraints the princes force within the limits of his owne lawes, made and published for the benefit of his

people generally : by which meanes their wealth & peace may be multiplied **F**
& conferued ; especially when the crowne is not bestowed vpon any through
suffragation (as by briberie, faction, or affection) but by royall right of heri-
tage, to princes next in succession by blood ; as it is in this renowned monarchie
of Brittain vnder your maiesties imperiall Scepter at this day : for euery
good Commonwealth is vnder iust gouernment with excellent counsell con-
ferued and amplified: neither can it but of force must otherwise be ruined and
perish.

For as much therefore as euery Commonwealth consisteth of a multi-
tude (which should liue in vnitie together vnder one God, one king, and one
law) I will speake somewhat of the incorporation and harmonious vnion of **G**
people and nations one within another. So much the rather, because the pre-
sent state of our monarchie thus confirmed and happily linked in vnion re-
quireth it; in this semblably with all requisite humiliation, as in all other
things, yeelding and submitting my iudgement to the correction of wise-
dome.

The first and best forme of gouernment and empire is, where one king mo-
derateth and ruleth all nations vnder his dominion vnited, according to the
true spirit of vertue, which domination is properly termed by the sages of
wisdome a monocracie : for it representeth the perfect ordination of nature,
by which euerie multitude and deformitie submitteth it selfe to some one **H**
thing which gouerneth the same; euen as all things moouable are reduced
vnto the first moouer or centre from which all Lines, Elements, and Dimen-
sions are deriued. For prooffe hereof *Herodian* in his historie writeth, that
Darius vpon a consultation, how the Persian state might be best established as
a paronymph by the liuely force of a most eloquent oration defended the
forme of a monarchie : which the Persian senate did also with one voice ap-
plaud ; declaring and proclaiming him their king thereupon. The like part
did *Mecenas* defend against *Agrippa* before *Octavius Caesar*, and preuailed: both
their copious and effectuell orations are yet extant in *Dion Cassius*. To con-
firme this both by diuine authorities, and humane nature, the blessed Apostle **I**
saith, that *there is one head, one spirit, one lord*. And it is written in the prophet
Ezechias, *My seruant David shall be their king and onely shepheard ouer them all*.
Also wee find in the gouernment of nature amongst bees, one chiefe; one
guide amongst cranes; one emperour or king amongst nations, vnited in obe-
dience to the righteous scepter of one; and one iudge or president ouer euery
prouince. When Rome was first builded, it would not endure the gouerne-
ment of two brethren equall in empire. And in sacred monuments we find,
that *Jacob*, and *Esau* disagreed in the very wombe of *Rebecca*. *Vnum etenim ar-*
bustum non alit duos Erithacos : One bush will not admit two ruddockes at once
vpon it. Neither can the Empire or kingdome of any, brooke two Phoenixes **K**
to liue at once. Nature also instructeth and teacheth vs how one ocean
imboketh many riuers, which as contributaries, subiects, suppliants, and
weake ones, haue recourse and admittance into the strong bosome of the
vaste seas.

Dion. lib. 52.

Ephes. 4. cap. 37.

Genes. cap. 25.

- A** In a Monarchie therefore, and in the whole course of every good policie, these three speciall are most certaine, and faithfully to bee receiued. The first is: one God, without fellowship in power and vertue, whose sacred ieaousie will not admit of any copartner or competitor, according to whose precepts and instructions deliuered, as it is written in those holy bookes to his faithfull seruants *Moyse* and *Aaron*, and after to the blessed Patriarkes, then to the diuine Prophets: and lastly, by the blessed mouth of *Christ Iesus* his sonne our Sauour vnto the sanctified Apostles, without addition, or diminution, our true Religion Catholicke, being the vertuous baulme of our mortified soules and bodies, wounded with the dares of sinne and death, and extracted out of the most precious and inestimable substance of our saluation is immoueably grounded.
- The second, one king, who semblably (without any competitor or disociate coequall in his authoritie) doth represent in himselfe the very person of royall iustice, according to that excellent verse of the Poet *Nulla fides regni socijs: Omnisque potestas* *Impatiens consortis erit.* There is not any trust to be reposed betwixt fellows in Empire: for each power is impatient of a competitor. The parts of a true prince (as *Plin* describeth) is *Ex lege & more regere*: To rule by law and custome: He being thus placed in the throne of royalty, sheweth Gods high fauour and deare loue to that people, whom hee graciously gouerneth: by those wise and godly rulers, which vnder him sit on the throne of Iustice: wherein likewise the king sheweth his owne excellent prudence, that can by good discretion make choice of such excellent magistrates: Hence was it, that *Queene Saba* did magnifie king *Salomon* aboue all the kings on earth in these words: *Blessed be the Lord thy God, which loued thee, so set thee on the throne of Israel, because hee loued Israel for ever, and made thee king, so doe righteousness and equitie, &c.* In the King therefore is comprehended the power and vigour of those humane laws which proceeded from his diuine Sapience, answering to the natures of his people and consenting with the times necessitie: which he stands obliged to purge with the maiestie of his state; antiquating such ordinances, as haue bene formerly thought behoofefull, and not presently seruing in such needfull request as before: for in the Prince, and in his Lawes, hauing entire reverence and respect to the true worship and lawes of God, (which is the principall) all Kingdomes, Nations, and People, are preserved, gouerned, and maintained in glorie, wealth, and tranquillitie. And hence is it, that the Prophet *David* sayth: *Give thy iudgements to the King, O God, and thy righteousness vnto the Kings sonne, that in Righteousnesse hee may iudge thy people, and the poore in Equitie. The maintenance and life shall bring peace to thy people by Justice.* For which speciall and singular gifts and vertues of Righteousnesse, Concord, and Iustice, Kings and Princes were first ordained: whose institution was diuine and heauynly, and by the most

bountifull and gracious ordinance of God, appointed for the weale of his people. Also they that were so chosen in regard of their prudence, humanitie, temperance, and other excellent faculties, wherein they surpassed all others, were therefore called to the gouernment of people and nations, by generall suffrages and ioyfull vnanimitie. Such was the election of *Deioces* amongst the Medians; of *Samoshes* amongst our auncient Brittaines, and amongst the Gaules; of *Minos* in Crete; of *Numa Pompilius*, the successour of *Romulus*; who being absent, was chosen king of the Romanes, vehemently perswaded and vrged to take vpon him that Soueraignetie, which hee most peremptorily refused a long time: for a true king is the viue patterne and Idea of all vertues, reuerenced amongst his people, subiects, and vassales, as a god vpon earth: whose regall authoritie being receiued from the most great and ineffable prouidence, grace, and secret charter of God, vnder the blessed scale of his omnipotencie, ought by him in all humilitie to be continually ascribed and reacknowledged to his incomprehensible deitie. For God of himselfe being most wise, most iust, and most good, would haue a most wise, a most iust, and a most good vice-gerent to rule his people in all righteousness and equitie. Yea, the barbarous rabble did so wonder and adore their first kings in those former ages, that they did faine and cominent, how they were not dead, but translated into heauen amongst their prophane gods. Many write, that the three speciall vertues of a king, are Sapience, Iustice, and Concord, which without doubt are three of the foure triumphant wheelles of his renowned and euerlasting glorie: but certaine it is, that hee which is verely valiant, magnanimious, and industrious, and he that with assiduitie, vigilancie, iustice, and equitie doth well gouerne his people, committed to his faith and sapience (after the manner of good shepheards which carefully guide and attend their flockes) doth doubtlessely discharge his function by iust meanes well and faithfully. Finally, these three properties are they which sanctifie him amongst his subiects, and through the whole world: Clemencie, which is the iewell of princes; Mercy the Sun-shine of kings; and Lenitie being as it were the milke of maiestie.

The third, one people including the Commonwealth, which also should acknowledge one only God and one king, considering the corporeall resemblance which is betwixt him and God; both of them soueraigning ouer our soules and bodies in ecclesiasticall and ciuile lawes: for so much as wee be naturally borne vnder that obedience, as those other two former by their proper power beare domination ouer the nations of this earth, God hauing his vertue of himselfe, infinite, omnipotent, and limitleffe; the king holding his authoritie by the deputation, grace, and sufferance of the most high God, as his immediate steward, to direct, and to see them instructed in his holy Scriptures and commaundements, as also with his owne ciuile and politicke sanctions to gouerne them, that they might liue in loue, peace, and vnion together, as one flocke, obedient and answering vnto the voyce of their spirituall and temporall pastors, without wandering or straying from their obedience; like lost sheepe, which growing wild, acknowledge not any shepheard. This third estate

A estate is diuided into the nobler sort, including as well ministers and magistrats immediat and mediate vnder God, and the king as the commons and folke : out of which are framed all inferior politicke corporations, trades, and mysteries, as I partly touched in these Morals before. From those three, the sanctified, reasonable, and absolute bodies of all Commonweales are deriued, their soules being drawne from the perfect and authentick religion, deliuered and approued in sacred Scriptures ; which hold mens hearts in loue, feare, worship, and obedience vnto God, to their princes, and towards all sorts of people. This soule ought (as I haue partly declared in the Morals of my third booke) like iustice equally to peize it selfe, without wauing either to the right

B or to the left hand, further than is warranted by the written word, vttered from Gods holy spirit by the mouths of all our Patriarchs, the Prophets, and Apostles. This is the mightiest and most excellent charge, which rideth vpon the wings of euery good kings soule, presenting him sanctified and without blemish before the precious throne of God.

The king gouerning and preserving in peace and good order those nations and people, which are by Gods blessed ordinance laid vnder his scepter, is properly called the head of this bodie ; beeing the noblest member thereof, and placed in the toppe, containing that rich treasure of all the senses, exterior and interior : as of imagination, vnderstanding, memorie, and common sense ; whereas all other members, beeing subiect and obedient thereunto, be partakers of touch onely. It likewise giueth liuely faculties to the whole bodie, as the Spring head doth to those other riuers which are naturally deriued from it. And therefore euery body without a head wanteth his life and sense ; whereas though it want both legges and armes, it may liue and haue his being, though lame and miserable. In like sort, all waters not abounding from a Spring, are fennes, pooles, and marishes, mortified and without motion : whereas if diuerse armes and riuers braunching from the head, were taken away, yet would a liuely facultie remayne alwayes in the Spring. And therefore the best Philosophers and Physitions, as *Aristotle* and *Auicenne*, accord herein, that all sense and motion beginneth in the braine : which being temperate, maketh a good memory, which is gotten by quietnesse, by which the memorie groweth rich with knowledge. In such similitude and order all the perfect senses and motions of the Commonwealth begin in the prince ; who being temperate in himselfe, shall attaine that rich wise memorie (which is by the Morallists and sage Poets called very properly the mother of their nine Muses) and thereby, like king *Salomon*, become perfect in all sapience and prudence. This match is made by tranquillitie : for so much as the zealous care and studie to purchase peace, maketh euery king blessed and reuerend, and in the presence and sight of God, and of his people. Out of which the glorious renowne, honour, and good memorie of euery vertuous prince groweth famous in the knowledge of all posteritie for ever : euen as for their golden gouernment, king *Salomon*, and *Octavius Augustus* were ; whose glorie shall endure with this worlds memorie.

Encouragement
unto peace.

O what a comfort then may rest with the royall spirits and diuine senses of your mightinesse, when all these blessings shall be plentifully poured down from God vpon your gracious head with that oyle of gladnesse; and vpon the bodie of your kingdome, with that Angelicall Manna of spirituall goodness which was proclaimed at the birth of Christ Iesus; in the blessed dayes of *Ostian*, when all the corners of the earth were in a long and deepe silence as after a strong suddaine tempest: which excellent fode of peace your blessed Maiestie hath in your sapience from God preserved with grate and amigd to distribute amongst all the nations and princes of Christendome. And as the your Maiesties heauenly studies and contemplations for the weale and happinesse both of your owne and of other Christian princes, your brethren and their people are infinite, and alwayes waking: so are we with a sacred and euery burning zeale strongly bound from selfe dull and franke heated spirits, continually to pray for the perpetuall thereof, with your selfe and with your sanctified issue successively, to the ioyfull time of our spirituall redemption. The heart which containeth that spirit of inquiring and life, by me formerly compared to the forme of gouernment, being also the seat of sapience and of intelligence; according to the Physicall saying, *Cor sapit*: and that of *Salomon*, *Da seruo tuo cor intelligans, videris discernere bonum a malo*: Giue vnto thy seruant an vnderstanding heart, to discern or iudge betwixt good and euill: by correspondent faculties governeth next to the head in sense and sympathie from which (as I said) counsell is deriued, and by which all these faculties are groued in the mind of man, which I may call *The immediate vertue of the soule*: vpon which mans dignitie dependeth, if it be surely fastened in reason; that mind being as Philosophers write, pure, liquid, and diuine. Wherefore the heart being the precious casket or receptacle thereof, I doe resemble to the bodie of this secret counsell: for as at the time of conception it is infused, & hath his principall residence in the heart: and with it the soveraigne ladie, which is the quintessence thereof (being the immortal soule) conioyneth with it in this mortall tabernacle: so doth the forme or state of the Common weale with religion establish themselves by the sapience of this counsell. The members whereof as one heart inseparable should accord in wisdom, consultation, and liuely spirit to aduance and put in practise the lawes and precepts of God and of the king. Moreover, to that which is meditated and conceiued in the head, this heart openeth, not to discover the mind, but vpon wise preconsultation and precaution, hauing first fully sifted and discussed euery matter twice or thrice through the pure searfe of reason like gold repurified vpon the teste: till which time it to the more comitt any thing to the execution of arms, hands, & fingers of the body: the right hand thereof being analogically copared to the magistrats of iustice, and the left to ciuill ministers deputed by the king in their bodily office: such as are iudges holding the balanc of equities which I ascribe to the lesser and other meaner magistrates supplying the place of hands and fingers. And therefore that excellent Law-father saith, that a king is *corpus diuini quod in intellectu regitur*; a corporall god governed by the law of vnderstanding. Which vnderstanding (as I said) is contained in the heart.

Baldus in auth.

Successfully

- A** Successiuelly the liuer, being nurse of that bloud, which from thence in great conduits issueth, and is through little veins and pipes decently distributed vnto the members of that bodie, resembleth the princes treasure. This beeing bred and nourished in euery part (as it correspondently feedeth and nourisheth the againe) doth harmoniously keepe this politick body liuely and in health, each member according to nature, in his seuerall functions imparting comfort to another: as in the prince to retaine the tranquillitie of his subiects, appeareth by beneuolent retribution and dispensation of their subsidies, for their vniuersall prosperitie. In this alike as sapience or intelligence gouerneth in the heart, so doth the loue of mony in the liuer, *Cogit enim amare iecur*, For the liuer procureth loue in creatures. And euen by how much the more bloud encreaseth in the body, so much the more lust moueth in the members, which aptly consenteth with that old Poeticall prouerbe, *Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit*: The loue of money doth as much encrease as the money doth.

- Also the lungs I compare vnto lawes; because from thence, as *Auicenna* and *Hippocrates* write, all organes of the voice are drawne, according to the saying, *Pulmo loquitur*, The liuer giueth speech: for the law is not improperly called *Oraculum Reipub.* lying next vnto the liuer and heart of the Commonwealth: which ought to be kept incorrupt, because it is so full of pipes, as by the least contagion and putrifaction therein, the same wil infect & endanger the whole bodie: and when those pipes are stopped, the spirit of life & mouing is extinct, so that the body perisheth. Semblably, when the voice of the Commonwealth and legall proceedings are stopped, which I resemble vnto those pipes: the forme of policie (being also compared to the life of a kingdom) by that default is defaced, the whole bodies ruine ensuing thereupon. And hence are those reuerend Iudges which interpret those laws called Prudents and Sages, whose sentences haue formerly retained the same force that lawes ratified, as is noted in the beginning of my third booke. The head, which is the rich treasure-house of these lawes, being resembled vnto the prince purely and precisely, distributeth and interpreteth all difficulties, according to the direction of Gods blessed grace and diuine spirit, which worketh in his conscience, guiding him in the way of truth with all innocencie and sinceritie: so that he will not suffer any thing to proceed from his iudgement and heart, in counterfeisance or any verball formalitie to blind and deceiue the simpler sort, & to satisfie the present impositions of his owne appetite, as that wicked Florentine secretarie did aduise princes: but it must proceed from a sincere and iust heart, which is liberall of the knowledge of equitie, with which God hath enriched his heart, for the weale of his people, according to *Architas* the Pythagorean: *Bonum non semper beatum est, quandoquidem non in possessione virtutis, verum in usu beatitudo cernitur*, &c. Lib. de morum doct.
- D** That which is good attaineth not a blessed end alwayes, because beatitude is not discerned in him which hath the possession of vertue, but in him which practiseth it: Like him that hath not power to see in vtter darkenesse.
- E** Out of that head, this heart, that liuer, and these lungs, are composed those liberall Artists and Philosophers, which in and by them are cherished in euery politicke body, such as are instructed in Schooles, Colledges, and Academies.

The loynes and thighes I resemble not vnfitly to the true Nobilitie; vpon whom for their vertues meere such honours are by the prince diuolued: fortifying and ennobling euery kingdome with their monuments and posteritie: according to the precise estimate and attribute of true honour, which is (as it were) a due reuerence bestowed vpon persons in testimoniall of their vertue, or an externall token of the Princes, or of the peoples good opinion of him that is honoured: being Essentiall and Subiectiue, in respect of the person which imparteth honour; Materiall and Obiectiue, regarding him that receiueh honour.

The ribbes, bulke, and other baser entrailes may bee likened to the folke and meaner yeomanrie, which guard and impale those estates, being called the bodie, which according to Philosophie (being composed of that earthly kind of beginnings) serueth as a certaine vessell or receptacle of the mind: or rather more properly the prison or sepulchre of those other excellent mentall perfections, which contaminate and infect them with a grosse contagion, darkening, or obumbrating those intellectuall faculties with perturbations and deformities. Such are those that acknowledge no lawes nor order.

Lastly, the two legges which support the whole substance of all this little world, are honest merchandise, and tillage, or husbandrie. Merchandise consisteth in honest traffique, and barter, in exchange, in exportation, and importation of lawfull goods, from and to places, lawfull and authorized by the commerce and intercourse of Nations, in league confederated with them, and by permission of their prince: which kind of mercature is fitly likened to the legge, because it is exercised in trauell and seruice of the body to bring in that good, which may supplie towards the generall benefite thereof. Hence was it, that the Philosophicall Poets fained *Mercurius* with wings at his feete, whome they tearme the God of guile and merchandize.

There are three kinds of commerce: Mercature, Vsurie, and Mercenarie mysteries: the noblest of which is Mercature. Of Vsurie, I haue heretofore and shall hereafter (as occasion offereth) speake more largely: the Mercenarie trades are such vnliberall and slouenly crafts, as meere consist in the bare workes and labour of the bodie, according to *Aristotle*. Poore merchants in euery State are dishonourable, no more fashioning out a good Commonwealth, than a small weake legge graceth a great bodie. And therefore *Cicero* sayth: *Mercatura si tenuis sordida putanda est, si magna et copiosa multa undique apportans, multisque sine vanitate impersiens, ac etiam si satiosa questu, vel contenta potius, videtur iure optimo posse laudari*: Mercature being poore is odious; being great and copious (traffiquing and bringing in commodities with and from many nations, and imparting againe to diuerse countries many benefites with good discretion, and also when it is satisfied or contented rather with reasonable gaines) is very lawfull and laudable. And therefore in regard of their huge wealth and great entercourse with other nations of the world, the State of Venice (which principally consisteth of Mercature) is

account-

In Polit.

of. 1.

A accounted noble and very honorable as *Bartholomew Capola* writeth, and without all doubt, if it be not insatiate, mercature is the surest legge of a Commonwealth, specially to Maritime nations, Ilands, and free cities: such as this kingdome of ours, and that one very rich state of Venice; at this day being in comparison of others such a concised seignorie: and therefore one *Lacon* answered a vaine glorious merchant which boasted in his manie ships sent out to diuers coastes of the world for choise of sundry commodities very wisely thus. *Finis est lucro praescribendus propter varios fortuna euentus.* Merchants must limite a terme to lucre; because fortune is variable, least in a moment they loose that gaine for which all their life time they laboured: and so be driuen into that infamous disease vpon the very desperate conceite thereof, which the Romanes called in their lawes Decoction, although through any misbehaviour or misgouernement in themselves they doe not deserue the report thereof. With which bankrupt maladie *Cicero* bitterly snuffed *Marcus Antonius* in these words. *Teneſne memoria te praesextatum decoxiſſe? Patris (inquit) iſta culpa eſt: etenim eſt pietatis plena iſta deſenſio: illud tamen audacia tua, quod ſediſti in quatuordecim ordinibus cum eſſet lege Roſcia decoctoribus certus locus conſtitutus: quamuis qui fortuna uisio non ſuo decoxiſſent.* Remembreſt thou, that being in thy roabes of honor and magistracie, thou diddest deceiue thy creditors, percase thou wilt reply that it was thy fathers fault, and in that excuse forsooth thou shalt shewe great pietie: but was it not audaciously done of thee, to take thy place amongst the fourteene orders of state, whereas by the law *Roscia* there is a certaine place limited to bankrupt persons: albeit they did breake by some accidentall misadventure otherwise, and not by their owne negligence or vice?

And herein appeareth how vile and odious this was amongst the Romanes, inſomuch as if a gentleman which had delt with merchants in their stocke or cash, and broke in credit or promise, the merchants did presently protest against his credit, and proclaime him, fallen into the shame of Decoction, of which *Lucas de Penna*. But (that merchandise or mercature is a principall and most needfull state in all cities and policies) it appeareth as well by continuall prooffe, as amongst other trades mentioned in the wisdom of Iesus the sonne of Syrach, Also *Plato* in *inſtitutione reipub.* writeth how merchants and agents in traffique are most behouuefull in euery good citie. The difference betwixt them according to the legiſts, is that a negotiatour or agent is hee that buieth commodities, selling them againe without alteration of their proper tie: such are they which transport and barter for tinne, copper, yron, raw filkes, wooll, or woollen-clothes; with such like which they sell againe in the ſame nature. Thoſe are properly called merchants which buy theſe commodities, selling them altered into certaine instruments, or implements: as ordinance, belles, vessels, ſtuffes of filke, clothes, and garments; with other ingenuous needements for vſe of people; by their mechanicall trades learned, taught, and allowed by the wardens and maſters of thoſe trades and miſteries in the places where they reſide or dwell.

Husbandrie being that other support or trefſe of this politike body (which

L

conſiſteth

Philippic. 2.

In rubric. cap. negotiatores non militem. & vlpian lib. 3. forum de crimine ſtelionatus. Cap. 38.

Barthol. & Alexander in apophth.

consisteth of pasturage or tillage) may be worthily thought the right legge: I and therefore according to the prouerbe I should haue set forth the right leg first. Howbeit there is not any great difference, yet *Cicero* specially commendeth this exercise both in his booke of old age; and in his first of Offices, saying, that it is the fruisfullest and sweetest of all temporall labours which yeeld benefit, and best befitting an honest man. And likewise to *Pomponius Atticus*. *Nihil ad sapientis uitam agricultura proximè videtur accedere, habet enim rationem cum terra quæ nunquam recusat imperium; nec unquam sine usura reddit quod accipis.* I will not stand vpon this being so much writ vpon, and knowen: onely that honour and reputation (which was anciently giuen vnto it) is notable. For some Romane Emperours with their victorious hands, did hold the plough; did cast corne into the ground, did plant, and did measure land with as great obseruation and intention, as they would in time of warre busie themselves in limiting, squaring, fashioning, and quartering their battailes and armies: exercising with as much industrie and pleasure, the spade and mattocke, as in heate of youth, their swords and launces. Such were *Cincinnatus*, *Serranus*, *Portius Cato*. Also the *Fabij*, *Lentuli*, *Cicerones* which had their names of pease, of beanes, and pulse in sowing of which graine, each of them or their auncesters had exceeding knowledge: albeit, most renowned warriours. *Cicero* likewise writeth of *Martinus Dentatus*, who did triumph over the Sabians and Samnites, and yet contented himselfe with a little land, and some few cattell. *Gaudenti terra vomere laureato, & triumphali aratore.* The land reioycing in a laureate plough, and in a ploughman which had borne triumph from the warres. Semblably we reade that *Deiotarus* king of Armenia was a most diligent husbandman, and *Xenophon* obserueth in the life of *Cirus*, how painefull hee was in tillage and rusticall labour. For it is manifest that out of such folke very strong and apt souldiers are chosen and enabled for the warres, because through laborious exercise, their bodies are better knit and confirmed in health and strength, then either merchants or artificers which dwell in the walled townes. And hence was it that the Romanes erected without the city, those temples to their saint of Medecine *Esculapius*, constantly beleeuing and meaning that villagers were in better health then citizens; or such as inhabited walled townes. They which haue written of the dignities of agriculture and husbandrie were *Chares*, *Parius*, *Hesiodus*, *Apollodorus*, and *Lemnius* in the Greeke language, amongst the Latines, *Cato*, *Varro*, *Columella*, *Virgillius*, &c.

And in this order according to my weake inuention and iudgement haue I fashioned, and appropriated the politike parts and members of a Commonwealth: hauing also giuen soule and life vnto it. Now for as much as it behooueth needfully, that these members vnder one head, and of one body, should harmoniously conuerse and consent in loue and sympathie (which nature teacheth in our owne bodies, by the compassion and succour that one member hath of and in another; by supplying health to the common defects; and mutually mitigating the maladies in themselves, with a kind of reciprocall tolleration, passion and consent indifferently) I will speake somewhat of that vnitie

A vnitie which God our of his infinite benignitie offereth and teacheth vnto vs of this nation, so coupled and aduned vnder your highnesses sanctified scepter.

The lawes of nature as I said teach vs how pleasant and consonant it is with the spirit of life, that all members accord in affection and mutuall aide one towards another. Since therefore it hath pleased the true wisdome and omnipotent grace of God, to make of these two kingdomes one bodie vnder one head: meseemeth it should not sticke in any mans opinion, how the same can any way proue vnfit or vnprofitable. Which diuerse, more vpon peruerse opinion, than any reasonable consideration, impudently seeme to beleue. But

B the wiser sort (which though fewest in number, are soundest in iudgement) perfectly know the contrarie. *In magna namque repub. multa & varia ingenia sunt*: For the wits of people in a great Commonwealthe be variable and many: Yea, such as are of repugnant opinions: considering therefore, that by nature euery bodie hath one head onely; like one roote, from which many braunches vnited in one tree, doe spring (if it be not a monstrous bodie) so seemably should each head haue but one bodie: for how deformed and horrible were it in the sight of nature, that one head should haue two bodies: especially, whereas they bee knit by nature from the beginning, as these kingdomes both in one roote, being all members of one bodie, from the

C first vnited, then seuered againe by the great and most mysticall prouidence of Almighty God, and now reunited in your Maiesties blessed gouernment, for the accomplishment of Gods vnreuealeable, and incomprehensible iudgement: Since therefore we draw together in one yoake, wee may not separate by dissent, some with their stiffe neckes behind, and others with their obedient heads before: for oxen yoked in such sort, can neuer tyll the land, nor tread out the corne, but leaue it barren, and out of order. For it is impossible, that the labour should succcede well, when some kicke with their heeles, when they should haue drawne with their heads, making a distraction so much more violent through their disobedience, by how much more force

D there is in them that are so distracted: and from hence breaketh out the ruine and confusion of all good gouernment and policie: which answereth to the saying of our Sauour Christ, *Omne regnum in se diuisum desolabitur*: Euery kingdome diuided in it selfe becommeth desolate. And if this should happen, against which all good men should make their deprecations, that God might auert the calamitie, which would impend it. Doubtlesly, the same cannot but proceede from our owne maleuolence, and peruerse distortion; according to that true saying of *Salust*: *Vbi boni mores, nunquam discordia nec auaritia: vbi auaritia, nunquam boni mores nec vera concordia, &c.* Where good manneis, and honest fashions are vsed, neither can discord nor auarice bee

E found: but where auarice reigneth, you shall neuer find good manners, nor true charitie. And therefore let vs watch and pray, that wee fall not into discord at any time after this our blessed vnion, composed by that sacred and most charitable hand of our liege soueraigne, least by those disastrous means we become fearfull of those nations, who otherwise we may retaine in due fear of vs.

Orat. ad Caf. de
Rep. Ordinand.

Turne we therefore with ioyfull vnanimitie one towards another, and let vs which haue receiued much light and true glory from fo gracious & powerfull a king, detest all malicious factions and distractions; which assuredly breake out of minds and spirits bare of honour; and abiect vnto themselves in all vnworthinesse; which are perswaded, that auarice and ambition are the truest dignities in man, more than all his other mentall and intellectuall faculties. *Firmanda sunt igitur concordia vincula, & discordia mala expellenda*: Let vs therefore make strong the bonds of our concord, and expell the mischiefs of discord.

For it hath beene our auncient honour and the Brittaines glorie, recorded of this Nation by *Cornelius Tacitus*: *Commune periculum concordia propulsandum cognouere Britannii, in vit. Iul. Agricola*. The Brittaines by their mutuall and intestine concord knew well how to repell all common dangers to themselves. Vnite we therefore cheerefully: for according to *Socrates*, this vnion of a Commonwealth is the very worke and scope of friendship: and such as are true friends, *Estam ob vehementiam amoris capiunt connasci, & unum ex duobus fieri*: Desire euen in the vehement heate of their loue to bee borne together againe, and one entire to be made out of two bodies. Which vnion or communion of the lawes and liberties, with other emoluments, answerable to the rule of need and decencie, is confirmed by discipline, and discipline comprehended in the Lawes, and in Philosphie.

When England and Scotland were separated, yet were they brethren: for in one Prouerbe they did consent, That England was the elder, and Scotland the younger brother. And of late yeares their accord was so naturall, prognosticating this indissoluble vnion, that to the breake-necked spight of our enemies, our late peace of Englands dauncing in spirituall consolation, fed vpon that counsell which the diuine Psalmist vttered, *Ecce quàm bonum & quàm iucundum est fratres habere in unum*. And in the dayes of our fathers, when any iarrs happened betwixt vs, they were such cauls or emulations rather, as commonly fall amongst brethren: which though they bee much violent for the time, yet they continue but a little time: and now the title of brethren is gone, in respect of the body politicke, for wee bee much neerer than before. *Hengist* hath married with *Scota*, euen as *Henry* your Maiesties royall father, the sonne of *L. Matthew Stuarde*, and of *Ladie Margarete*, who married with your mother *Mary* (daughter to king *James* the fourth, and to the Dutcheffe of *Longueuille*) after the death of her first husband king *Frauncis* the second, grandchild by the first ventre vnto that good prince of renowned memorie, king *Henry* the seuenth, as your Highnesses father was by the second ventre: so that it may most fitly be said concerning that blessed coniunction of those two faire and peaceable planets. *Nuper ex atrocissimis bellorum ciuiliū vulneribus paulisper respirantem amplexi sunt libertatem huius insula, Iacobus quartus & Margareta Scotorum coniugio sociati, &c.* Out of the late most bitter wounds of ciuile warres, *James* the fourth and *Margaret* (being knit in wedlocke together) haue embraced the liberties of this Island, euen when it began to faint and draw a weake breath.

This

A This happie marriage of those two beneuolent planets portendeth the weale of Christendome: for in it by a double vnion twice vnited in bloud: once by the sacred vnion of the two royall families of Yorke and Lancaster, and after by that second vnion in marriage, of a daughter and a sonne; that a mother, and this a father, both of them out of the bodies of king *Henry* and Queene *Elizabeth*, is this match made betwixt *Hengist* and *Scota*, more firme than euer at the first, when *Brutus* raigned ouer them, before their separation in the persons of *Locryn* and *Albanact*: *Iam non sunt duo, sed caro una*. Which sacred circumscription was figured and stamped in a peece of coyne of your late royall parents, vpon their vnion, figuratiuely presaging this vnion also.

B Since therefore these nations thus coupled in one bodie, be both of them knit vp in your Maiesties royall person and posteritie, there is not any doubt, but that they will liue, loue, and accord in sincere vnitie together, perfecting and accomplishing that generall peace of conscience, which was begun and yet continued from the first of your Maiesties late dearest sister her beginning in reigne, euen to this instant, of your gracious gouernment: your Highnesse representing the person of this auncient Brittain, comprehending the new spouse Scotland within your princely bodie (though your royall residence be kept with vs, as in the bride-groomes chamber) hath that vbiquitie by God graunted you, touching the ciuile supremacie which his omnipotencie retaineth ouer all creatures. For though your Grace (being head) doe not really touch certaine parts of your Commonwealths bodie, yet that power and vertue which is contained in your heart, liuer, and lungs, doth gouerne and moderate in those places, by direction of that head, which commaundeth and predominateth all the members: insomuch, as they neede not say, that the bridegroom is taken from them, and that they shall fast, because they conuerse with him in power, feasting with vs vnder his goodnesse: for wee bee children of the bride-chamber all alike. And it is not to bee doubted, but that this new bride will declare her true loue and loyall demeanure towards her husband, whatsoeuer sedicious or malecontented spirits mistrust or misconster: for shee is from the first bud of her youth acquainted with her husband, hauing a perfect and infallible notice by long tryall, and hath sincerely plighted her faith. What is he then worthie, that would in the roote of all bitternesse seuer the barke from the tree by nefarious breach of this blessed vnion, that I may speake vulgarly, sowing the seede of dissention of intestine garboyle and burlyment amongst auncient brethren, by making the peaceable members of one bodie to rebell against themselues, and against the will of God? Let them that haue scarcely sucked so much as of the vile dregs of nature iudge hereof. For if two weake ones vnited make a competent strength, then certainly, two nations so combined and of such force, beeing seuerall, (such as haue borne battaile, and confounded the puissantest princes of Christendome) may very well grow most mightie by their vnited force: whereas if they should not now confirme themselues in vnfained amitie, which God hath commaunded, it must necessarily follow, that it had bene a million fold better

better for them, that they neuer had knit in that nuptiall band together : for F
 then will they both of them loose their owne forces, in mutuall resistance o-
 pening their glories to the spoyle of base and despised enemies. We now stand
 one in more need of another, than euer we did before, if wee consider it, and
 onely because we haue incorporated our hearts, lawes, and obediences toge-
 ther vnder one God and one King, which hath not beene of so many hun-
 dred yeeres past. *Nam utrumque per se indigens, alterum alterius auxilio indiget:*
 For both of them being single, and standing in some neede of succour, may
 stand one the other in steede with their owne succours. This if wee ponder
 with franke and honourable accord, and shall ioyfully rouse vp and vnite
 our noble spirits, together with all heroycall obedience and true magnanimi- G
 tie, vnder our dread Soueraigne, for him against his enemies, as we haue al-
 readie done our kingdomes : for if we will endeouour and accommodate our
 selues but to this our blessing of vnite, which euery vaine foole (vnlesse the
 false tempter bewitch him) will apprehend with all comfort, profered from so
 sweete, good, and gracious hands of the Lord of our hostes : then *Neque or-
 bis terrarum, neque cuncta gentes conglobata mouere aut consundere queant hoc
 imperium :* Neither the whole world, nor all the nations and people of this
 earth, assembled in hostile troupes, shall haue power to shiuer or batter down
 this our Empire.

*Sal. ad Caf. de
 Rep. Ordinand.*

Hereof let vs prudently consider, being a matter of such high consequence: H
 for no mans imagination, apprehension, precaution, or providence can bee
 so strong in this case, as is requisite; *Nam de futuro nemo omnium satis callidus
 prudensque est.* Let vs therefore prudently consider, and it shall appeare, how
 both these kingdomes (which were so long seuered heretofore) haue beene
 from the first remembrance which is remayning of this Island, since it was
 first inhabited by *Brutus*, (who shared it amongst his sonnes) and after him
 long and many times made one bodie : and how standeth then the present
 state of them in comparison : Euen as one auncient tree lopped off from the
 bole : wherein by proceffe of time, diuers old Danish, Saxon, and French
 graffes haue beene planted, which take their vertue from the roote of that an- I
 cient Brittain stocke, including England, Scotland, and Wales, by times con-
 tinuance reincorporate, and flourishing out againe in one fruitfull tree. So
 that in the persons of your Grace, and of your sweete spouse (in whome the
 fruits of all these nations now prosper) these seuerall plants graciously sprout
 out on high, like the sweete Cedars in *Salomons* forrests : which shortly by
 transportation or inoculation of their sprigs into other kingdomes, may beare
 rule and preheminance in all the goodliest gardens of the world. Neyther
 can any difference bee found in a well seasoned palate, betwixt that taste
 which the fruits of these graffes yeeld, sauing in a little rellish, which I com-
 pare to the dialect of their languages, not differing at all, if you suite them K
 with that old Brittain tongue of Wales ; which notwithstanding hath con-
 tinued faithfull so many yeeres vnder the Crowne of England. Since there-
 fore the wall (that deuided these two princely chambers, so neerely conioined
 before) is now taken away, and that one maiestically lodging is made of them
 both,

- A** both, where the bride and bridegroom doe louingly repose themselves together: there is great cause why we should call vpon the daughters of Syon, (which are meant by the faithfull, and well affected, in *Salomons Canticles*) saying with cheerefull hearts: *Behold King Salomon, with the crowne where* Canticap 3. *wish his mother crowned him in the day of his marriage, and in the day of the gladnesse of his heart.* For though the bride be blacke (as her name importeth) like Scotos. king *Salomons* beloued, yet is she amiable, and full of comelinesse, her riches is in concealed treasure, and her beautie glistereth within; which shortly to the comfort of them both (through the great grace and goodnesse of God, is like with glorie to be discouered into Christendome. Besides, what a rich dower
- B** was legacied to these happily coupled nations by God himselfe, euen in that faire and bright cincture of strength and peace, the true *Cestus*, or loue-girdle, which encloseth them both: wherein by the omnipotent great workeman (as the sacred Psalmist sayth) innumerable thinges creeping are wrought, both small and great: in which are placed multitudes of shippes militant and merchant, that (like so many precious stones of speciall vertue) decore and garnish the same: some hauing the power attractiue to draw benefites and commodities vnto them from all forraine parts of the world: others distributiue, which impart with a recipocall benignitie, the fruits and blessings of this Island: diuers defensatiue, in the good cause of their friends and colleagues,
- C** which confeathered together, as feathers all of one wing, ioyned in one fleete against those rauinous vultures, which would tyrannize ouer them: many that haue a force repercussive, which flaming like rockes of carbuncles (euen as in the violent eruptions of Vesuius or *Aetna*) foulder and e vomite the cannon stones of their indignation and vengeance vpon those tyrannous aduersaries, and assaylants of their liberties; the dreadfull sinoake whereof, doth yet in some Castilian stomackes taste vnflauorly. This girdle beautifully compasseth our royall bridegroom and his bride, whose most beautifull vnited bodie giueth grace to this girdle, left as a pledge of this vnion, wherein all Christian princes are made happie: so that the time may shortly come, when vpon the coast of this blessed Island many potentates shall strike their toppe gallants, beckening and bowing downe with their plumes of glorie, like homagiers to the Brittaines scepter: So that they which repine at this association or combination, may (when malice is vanquished) hereafter with glorie magnifie that which they contemptuously despised before: so that as *Salust* writeth; Bell. Ingueth. *Quod difficilimum est inter mortales gloria inuidiam vincemus, si concordēs & unanimes fuerimus:* That which is not easily seene amongst mortall men, our glorie shall triumph ouer enuie, if wee concord, and vnite together. For neither strength in battailes, nor huge heapes of treasure, can verely support and maintaine the states of kingdomes; but friends and faithfull countrey-men, whom neither armes can compell, nor any gold conciliate, faith alone shall retaine them in dutie, conquering and possessing their hearts assuredly. For who can or should bee more louing than one brother towards another? Or shall wee presume, that strangers will be faithfull towards vs, when wee breake forth in hostile variance amongst our selues? A firme state and euer-lasting

lasting Monarchie was brought vnto vs by that iustice, which our right roy-
all liege Lord brought with him out of Scotland into this Realme: it we can
bee benigne, meeke, gracious, and affectionate one towards another. But if
in contrarie, what man is hee that can expresse our future desolation and ca-
lamitie. For euen as king *Mysissa* dying, spake to *Iugurth* his vnnaturally fostered
sonne on the behalfe of his owne naturall children, *Adherball* and *Hyemp-
fall* (whose honours and inheritance he most ingratefull tyrannously did v-
surpe) *Concordia parua res crescunt, &c.* Small matters are encreased by con-
cord. But herEOF we neede not (vnder the protection of God) make doubt:
for that which is a most comfortable assurance to the people of this Nation,
the knot which our Soueraigne hath already knit, is like to proue indissoluble.
For the spouse hath in the bodie of *Queene Anne*, that comely turtledoue of
Denmarke, long since brought forth vnto the blessed bride-groome diuerse
right royall braunches of this vnited kingdome: which serue as faithfull
pledges and witnessers of their inuiolable loue and vnitie. Nay, shee hath sea-
led it vpon the lippes of her husband with a kisse, which kisse can neuer be for-
gotten. Shee hath kissed his lippes already; *from thence hath she sucked honey
and myrrhe*, proclaiming, that her beloued is hers, and shee his. *Shee shall there-
fore like a new wedded spouse, forget her fathers house and name, and bee called after
her husband*: who, because he will haue a paritie correspondent in all meeke-
nesse, assumeth to himselfe the name of *Brutus*, from whom as from their great
grandfire, both *Hengyst* and *Scota* were delined. This auncient name is the true
name, and the nobler title, because it is more ample; and yet a new name, and
of late: for what is it in the course of Nature, *Which is, and hath not beene, or
hath not beene, and shall be?* As *Salomon* in that sence so sagely sentenced: for
one generation passeth, and another commeth. *The righteousness hereof shall
breake forth as a light, and the saluation which commeth thereof, as a burning
lampe.* And as the Prophet *Esay* diuining of our Sauour said: so may we not
improperly applie the same to your Highnesse, beeing not his steward onely,
but the constant and faithfull champion and defender of his Gospell: *The
Gentiles shall see thy righteousness, and all kings thy glorie: and thou shalt be cal-
led by a new name, which the mouth of the Lord shall name thee: thou shalt also
be a crowne of glorie in the hand of the Lord, and a royall diademe in the hand of
thy God. And vnto Scota thus much for her comfort: Shee shall be no more forsak-
ken: neither shall it be said any more to that land desolate, but thou shalt bee called
Hephzibah, and thy lands Beulah, for the Lord delighteth in thee, and thy land shall
haue a husband: for as a young man marieth a virgine, so shall thy sonnes marrie
with thee: and as a bridegroom is glad of his bride, so shall thy God reioyce in
thee, &c.*

Psal. 45.

Esay 62.

This is that blessing which hath beene so long prediuided and promised:
so that our auncestors in many fore-passed ages haue heartely longed to see
the same, but could not. Let vs therefore, which haue gotten this iewell,
highly rate and esteeme it: and as we wish for the continuance of that peace
which dependeth thereupon, so let vs embrace and defend the same: least the
prouerbe bee verified amongst vs, with our calamitie, That *Enuie succedeth*
our

- A** *our first glorie: that we make not foes of our fellowes, and fellowes of our foes.* Accord we therefore with ioyfull endeaours in vnanimitee, because peace and friendship cannot possibly reigne together in people of diuerse and variable minds. Let vs esteeme our selues all alike in libertie, without ambitious crowding or thronging in for prioritie; ascribing all earthly power and preheminnence to the Soueraign of our nation, and liuing together as men commorant in one familie, *Qui eodem igne & fumo vruntur, &c.* Let vs like those auncient noble Romanes dilate and propagate our honours by sociable amitie, rather than to repine at any iust and profitable equalitie, to the pernicious confusion and ruine of our estates in generall. Thus shall wee stire vp our discontented
- B** spirits, if in vs any such wild fire of ambition reigne, to maintaine, to protect, and to glorifie those liberties which we possesse: and by these meanes shall no forraigne enemies dare to complain or repine against any thing in vs, but of our greatnesse and amplitude. By these meanes shall good fashions bee followed, ciuill and martiall exercises embraced and practised, concord and firme amitie shall be confirmed and increased inuolably both amongst our selues, our old friends, and new confederates. This if we shall presently ponder and put in practise with the true vigour of our vertues, then shall we not haue cause to curse our owne imaginations and foresights, like foolish pilotes, which when a tempest is apparant and alreadie begun, lamentably threaten, and (as it were) after-tell of the calamitie, setting men to worke, when all humane hopes are past: or
- C** like to the imprudent gouernours of cities, which when the first sedicious sparkes are kindled, and breake forth to the ruine of their states, (which otherwise might haue beene antiuerted by their precaution) spend the remnant of their time of succour in wayling and weeping. But if my zeale carie mee too farre, to make a question of that which many peradventure wise do think needlesse and impertinent, I craue pardon, assuring my selfe, that the diucll, beeing confusion himselfe, will bee very busie to make a disorder amongst the people of God, that he might supplant the root of our true Christian glory. Since therefore the blessed time of our vnion is accomplished and perfected, we shall not
- D** need to doubt, but that this our bride and bridegroom shall flourish like a garden inclosed, and abound in precious vertue like a spring and fountain of happinesse, which is sealed vp. Neither is it to bee doubted or imagined, which some friuolous opinions haue cast out, that it cannot long and easily brooke your Maiesties absence: as if according to the vulgar prouerb, the chiefe person of maiestic being out of sight, should be banished out of her loyall mind also: for (as I said) they might know, how the diuine spirit doth not call kings by the name of gods in vaine: for so much as this royall vbiquitie disperseth their soueraigne power, lawes, and authoritie through all the parts of this world. For we know, that Fraunce, which is much larger, had not many ages past diuers
- E** great and free principalities contained within her bounders: which by match and vnion, as this of ours is, and through the disobedience of some ambitious princes, are now firme and annexed as parts and members of that crowne, such as were Normandie, litle Brittain, Aquitaine, Orleance, and others: and likewise in the kingdome of Spaine; where at one time Aragon, Castile, Granada,

Corduba, Gallicia, Andelofia, being all of the little kingdomes, were feuerally F
gouerned, and Portugall also lately knit vnto king *Philips* Crowne. All which
principalities and prouinces are gouerned in peace by Presidents and Counfels
established in them. There seemeth then no reason to the contrary, why Scot-
land should not containe it selfe, and continue loyall, shadowed vnder the roy-
all curtaine of your gracious authoritie by that sapience, which in your diuine
policie is and shall be dispersed amongst them. For they cannot be such impi-
ous, barbarous, and vnthankfull creatures, as to forget their faith and allegiance
vnto him, that from his cradle was and is so dearely affied in them, and which
hath since the first spiracle of his reason expressed such mildnes, and gouerned
amongst them with such moderation & benignitie. Moreouer, the nobles and G
gentlemen of that nation are in this age by the maruellous beneficence of God
and Nature, more than euer, ingenuous, liberall, honourable, and for the most
part vertuously affected, desirous to learne knowledge & good fashion, which
oftentimes I did obserue in the conditions of the for the most part: insomuch
as it is a wonder, that a region, which was sometimes held and reported to bee
rude and barbarous, could afford so many ciuile and gallant spirits: which last
good and honorable inclination is generally seene in the most of them, being a
speciall branch of temperance, drawne from modestie, noted by the Philoso-
phers, and touched in the Morals of my first booke.

Shall any man then amongst the people of your Maiesties Nations bee so H
stubborne, as to withstand this diuine ordinance, or so proud amongst the sedi-
tious, that dare appeale from this so charitable and peaceable decree? For be-
sides, that royall Maiestie shall discountenance him, the very Cannon of those
ciuile lawes which are approued & established throughout all Christendome
vniuersally, shall vterly condemne them by that prerogative which is granted
to your Highnesse in these words: *Rex Anglia est monarcha in suo regno, à cuius*
sententia non appellatur, quia praefectus multis praeatorum est sui regni. Much
more priuiledge then is included in your Highnesse, in whom is iustly planted
the soueraigne right and inheritance of both these kingdomes, now made
one Nation.

Since therefore this head including your regall grace, being prudently bu-
sied in continuall contemplation, premeditation, & conference of things past,
present, and to come, (which are noted to be the very faculties of prudence)
doth with a zealous and pastorall care tender vnto the heart, being the iewel-
house of vnderstanding and sapience, the weale of this politicall body, which it
by mature deliberation digesteth for the chiefe good thereof: euen as the liuer
with bloud, the vocall organes and arme of iustice by pronounciation and di-
stribution of the lawes, and euery part in his particular function is ayding to-
wards the preservation hereof in health and tranquillitie: so should this head,
with all these mentall faculties, and that body with all his members conioyntly K
labour about all things to preferue the soule pure and blemishlesse: for onely
by that grace the countenance (which is the exterior pulchritude of this head)
is made cheerefull, as saith *Salomon*: by this the heart receiueth vigor and cou-
rage, the liuer a long life; the lights, which are indeed the very lights of this
poli-

fforum de Off.
prat. lib. primus,
proms Baldus in
cap secundo, cum
venissent, &c.

- A** politicke bodie receiue illumination and power : for out of the mouths of every babes and sucklings the strength thereof shall be deliuered, as it was by little *Daniell*. By this the hands are made strong, and the fingers might to breake a bow of Steele : this couereth the bodie with fatnesse, girdeth the loynes with gladnesse, and poureth marrow into the bones : lastly, this maketh the feete of that bodie like Harts feete, swift and liuely, for transportation and inuection of all commodities and earthly blessings, making the whole bodie strong and lustie, like an Eagle. This is the consummation and perfection of all the first and last of Gods blessings in every kingdome, to preserve the soule, being the true religion, spotlesse, and without schismes or heresies, so neere as the princes wisdome can. Which your sacred Maiesty, to the most high pleasure of God, to the Commonweale of his Church, and to the vnpeakable comfort of your people, haue done in your royall edicts and prouisions against the Papists and Puritanes within your realmes and dominions. Without this zeale and studious worship of God, we well know, that all the mentall faculties, which are guided by the light of naturall reason (with all the vertues intellectuall) and spirit of liuing, are all of them mortified in man. And therefore your Maiesties sanctitie and pietie shineth amongst the members of this bodie, which are set to continuall care and diligence, how to keepe a cleane soule within a sound bodie, against the time when our annoynted Sauour and shepheard shall call the kings of this earth (which are his Officers vnder him) to bring in their flockes, then in the first ranke shall your Grace (being one of his best stewards) deliuer vp out of your two faire sheepfolds, Brittain, and Ireland, the fairest and goodliest troupe in obedience and number, with cleere white fleeces of pure wooll, sound and entire, before the blessed Lambe immaculate, that your Highnesse may with the receiue the wages of eternall life before the most high and euer-liuing God : which great audite, how soone it will be summoned, and how suddaine (since it is hidden in that vnreuealeable booke of Gods incomprehensible mysteries from humane knowledge) it behooueth all princes, that they haue their accounts readie, least they beeing taken vnprovidid, be cast out with the wicked and reprobate shepheards of Israell.

Since therefore God hath preuented your Grace with the blessings of goodnesse, and hath set a crowne of pure gold vpon your head : since hee hath graunted vnto you long life euen for euer and euer : since your honour is in his saluation onely : since this worship and glorie is imposed vpon your Highnesse : since hee hath giuen you euerlasting felicitie, and made you glad with the ioy of his countenance, because your Grace his annoynted did put your whole confidence in him : Certaine it is which hee promised by the spirit of his kingly Prophet, That his boundlesse mercie shall not suffer you to miscarrie : euen when so many shepheards of his people shall be consumed in your sight by the spirit of his nostrils, vanishing like smoake out of the presence of his iustice, the angels of Gods sword and indignation scattering them : and in all diligent obseruation of wise men, which by the computation of times and conference of prophecies, as well those that

were first deliuered from the spirit of God in the Patriarks and holy Prophets, F
as by the diuination of our Sauour Iesus Christ himselfe in the Gospels, and
in all humane ~~providence~~ and Mathematicall iudgements of Philosophers, by
the course and motions of nature, it is apparant, that this world gaspeth and
languisheth, as being readie to be dissolued, and as I may fitly compare it in the
taste of a sapient palate to *Vinum fugiens*, which is already spent vnto the lees.
Since therefore your most royall Maiestie reuiue in your owne person and
posteritie this old Brittain league as a second *Cadwallader*, but doubtlesse vn-
der the ioyfull and propitious comfort of the Gospell like to bee most fortune-
rate in your domination, vnlike to the first *Cadwallader*, who was the last and
vnfortunate king of great Brittain, that reigned before your Highnesse; and G
fled from the wrathfull countenance of Gods deuouring Angell, which then
with plague and pestilence vnpeopled this land. What more happinesse can
wee with or meditate vpon in this mortall life, than after the time of our cor-
ruption and sinfull seruitude to be ioyned all in one flocke vnder Christ Iesus,
euen as in this life wee liue and breathe together, after that happinesse vnder
the blessed pasturage of our annoynted shepheard vnder God. Doubtlesly
were it not a vaine prophecie (mee seene) that should bee performed in
your Grace, which was long since prefigured of *Arthur*, king of the great and
lesse Brittain, who was a most zealous captaine in the cause of Christ, that H
a little while before the consummation of the world hee should come a-
gaine, perfecting all that goodnesse to the Christian Church, which by his
taking away was then newly begun. What is he that shall in these later times
facke these proud wals of Antichrist? Shall not he first arise out of the North?
Certaine it is, that if any shall demolish that proud tower of Babel, and sup-
plant from the lowest foundations that synagogue of superstition, by casting
out the Symoniack money-changers from the Temple, by purging all
cleane, for the great audite and euerlasting supper of our soules, it is your sa-
cred and highly renowned Maiestie: and as *Carl*. signifying *Charles*, (which
interpreteth noblenesse and magnanimitie) is one of your Maiesties names, I
well according with your most gracious and heroicall nature; so doth your
most excellent highnesse as a right renowned champion in the cause of God
want nothing towards the execution and consummation of this euer trium-
phant enterprize, but perfection of time to make all absolute. *Gird thee thy
sword vnto thy thigh, O thou most mightie, according to thy worship and renowne.
Good lucke haue thou with thine honour, ride on, because of the word of truth, of
meekenesse, and of righteousness, and thy right hand shall reach thee terrible
things: for thine arrowes are sharpe, and will subdue those people that are thine ene-
mies, thy seate is euerlasting, and thy scepter righteous: for thou lovest equitie, lo-
athing iniquitie, therefore hath God annoynted thee with the oyle of gladnesse above
thy fellowes. Hence is it, that thou art fairer than the children of men: hence is K
it, that thy lippes overflow with grace, because God hath euerlastingly blessed
thee. Then with a valiant courage, and diuine spirit from above, wee may
liue to see your blessed Grace, aduancing your selfe in the name of God
like *Indus Maccabans* in his holy warres against Gods enemies: which arose,
and*

*Iob. T. illi. lib. 1.
de rebus gall.*

- A** and like a gyant harnessed his breast, facing himselfe with all his marshall furniture to fight, and ouer his bastayles brandished victorie with his owne sword. Where it is also written, That hee like a Lyon demeaned himselfe in the conflict, or as a Lyons whelp roaring after his prey. What a glorious appearance shall it bee to the poore militant members of Christs Gospell, when they shall see your Grace like the Sunne in his glorie rising, and as a bridegroom, with a countenance like the Cedars of Lebanon, comming out of his chamber amongst them, to be their victorious guide, sent from God, to giue them victorie in battaile against the enemies of his annoynted: who though Fraunce bee called most Christian, and Spaine the most Catholicke king; yet is our Brittain Lord the annoynted of our holy one of Israel, the valiant and most faithfull champion, and defender of the faith and Gospell of Christ Iesus: who when time shall serue, like a gyant will ioy to runne his course, when the Lord of his hoasts shall put it in his heart, to giue a terrible allarum to his enemies. Then shall he throw downe from their proud horses the stubborne & blasphemous Gog and Magog, which as the souldiors of Sathan and Lucifer scomefully subannate the blessed names and mysteries of our syeete Messias, the God of righteousnesse: or like a diuine David against the proud brazen-headed Philistine of Gath, *whoreuiled the host of the liuing God*: The flesh of which reprobates shall be cast out to the foules of the ayre, for *their names are not written in the booke of life*. Howbeit, your Grace, vnited with a continuall peace and loue vnto the princes of Christendome, in a bond, which cannot easily be broken, signifieth that vniuersall peace, which should happen immediately before the great day of the Lord. And therefore, as in the reigne of *Octavian Augustus* (vpon the birth of our Messias) the voyce of a blessed Angell was heard singing, *Gloria deo in excelsis, in terris pax & cum hominibus bona voluntas*: so in the conclusion of this Christian age, which seemeth vry neere her end, your Grace may liue to see that happie time of our deliuerance, as the second and last *Octavius*, but manifoldly more blessed in this Euangelicall treasure than hee was: for what can these great and fatall coniunctions of the Planets, and those wonderfull eclipses (which happened immediately before and since your Graces imitation to this Crowne) portend, but a great mutation or vniuersall gaole deliuerance of our soules.
- B** Certaine it is to be thought, that some strange mutation is at hand, either by grievous warres in some parts, or by diuolutions or dissolutions of empires, but if by warres, then I beseech Christ, that I may most auspiciously augure against the enemies of his Gospell: or if in happie peace, then that it may to your Maiesties endlesse glorie continue, which your Highnesse hath already so fruitfully and confidently laboured & effected amongst all Christian princes. Which blessed league, if it shall hold, what hope then remaineth, but
- C** that the golden time of our glorification is come to the dore: when this our bridegroom and bride (as I said) shall come with the virgines that be her fellows, conducted into the royall pallace, prepared for him before the beginning of the world. Which blessed couple incorporate in your Maiesties sacred person, shall ioyfully mount at sound of the trumpet, attended with those
- D**
- E**

Rom. cap. 13.

Apo. 19.

Apo. 22.

three wise virgins, whose lamps are full of oyle, & lighted : to who it shall be opened whē they knock faithfully, faith guiding hope, hope conducting charitie, but charitie (being the most full of grace and fauour) glorifying them both : for in her (as S. Paule sayth) *is the law fulfilled, and through her are multitudes of misdeeds covered, &c.* Which being sweetest of the three sisters, will doubtlesse-ly conduct your Grace by the right hand, because through her, the peace and vnion, amongst all that professe themselues the members of Christ, is fruitfully wrought and continually sought by your Highnesse : so that vpon this second great Sabboath, bringing with it a generall rest from all our earthly labours, and a perpetuall consolation in our endlesse praises and thankesgiuing vnto God : when *Gloria* shall be sung in *Excelsis* againe ; *Pax* also shall be found in *Terris* ; and that author thereof vnder God shall be brought into the melodious chamber of that all good, all great, and all holy bridegroom, mentioned in the blessed Gospell, presenting before him a flocke well washed, cleane, without infection, and sanctified, readie for glorification, that they may with their faithfull shepheard sit at the Lambes supper *in the holy citie new Jerusalem, where shall be no more night, neither light of the Sunne : For the Lord giueth them light, and they shall reigne for euer more.* Happie shall they be found, which watch, and blessed, that are accompanied with those three wise virgins : for your Grace like the true Lyon shall be found with your eyes open to wait and attend vpon that King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, the Lyon of Iudah. F
G
H

I haue spoken (my priuate condition considered) sufficiently, to make knowne the iust and godly grounds of this vnion : fearing, if I should meddle further with some cautelous and captious positions, suppositions, or oppositions in these cases, not onely to be condemned of arrogant presumption, (which is most detestable in all good iudgement and knowledge) but also to be venemously scourged with the malicious snakes of enuie. Modestie therefore enioyneth mee to restraints my forwardnesse in further discourse hereof : howbeit, in a man that sitteth on the seate of Magistracie, this were honest fortitude, to maintaine *vijs & modis quibuscumque*, without any feare or respect of man, discharging his dutie towards God, and declaring his dearest affection vnto that Commonweale, (by which hee liberally breatheth, and hath his free being) by the promulgation and faithfull ouerture of his reason and knowledge in those points remaining. It shall therefore suffice, least I be taken with some suddaine conuulsion, to diue no deeper into this Ocean of concealed treasure, but onely to be satisfied in that my reason hath already (with the eyes of intelligence) beheld the bottome and ground of this blessed vnitie, which by God is composed of the rich pearle and golden sand of goodnesse and felicitie: wishing to them that are enabled with knowledge and authoritie, and which ought not to be moued with the passions of feare or affection, to bring vp from the bottome some grounds of this hidden treasure, that the misbelueing ignorant (if any be scrupulous or doubtfull) may see, beleue, and embrace this happinesse : for they (whom it befitteth best to rippe vp furrowes in the mountaiues, being seated vpon them) may best shew I
K

- A** shew their eloquence and vertues impulsive, in laying open to the sunne that which hath bene so long concealed, if occasion herafter shall seeme to require the same. With me (that am the meanest of a million vnder your Highnesses rod) it fitteth well to plough in the valleyes, where euery man yeerely turneth vp the same glebe. Howbeit, had I said onely, that this vnitie standeth best with the will and wisdom of God (from whence Entheusiastically becometh a diuine vertue to the prudence of all good princes, receiuing their ghostly consolation from him, and by the weale of his people) which plentifully descendeth vpon them through the spirit of faithfull prayers, and is sucked into their soules by the signes of their louing feare of God: or had I said that which
- B** I could easily proue by politicke likelyhoods, how within the reuolution of one hundred yeares, the whole world (by this gordian knot, which *Alexander* himselfe could not, if hee were aliue, breake; being once surely knit in our hearts by a generall and faithfull consent) might bee made tributarie to this Monarchie, if the Brittaines would continue their loue so long towards God, and amongst themselves: then must it haue followed vpon necessitie, that the chiefe temporall weale of your Maiesties people, and a speciall meane vnto their spirituall consolation, might bee locked vp in this mysticall vnion. So that some in their loue towards God; others in regard of that glorious calme at home; diuerse in desire and hope of more reputation and riches, euen all
- C** of them for some one or other speciall affection or passion in themselves, which they would haue satisfied, might ioyfully giue to this vnion (by your Highnes so graciously composed) a generall approbation & consent, for their vniuersall honour and content.

- Now turning to the Morals of Prudence, where I left, I would speake somewhat summarily, respecting the conditions of magistrats, souldiours, and artificers in a Commonwealth. I deeme him worthie to bee reputed a good Commonwealths man, that being garnished with ciuile vertues (as with iustice and fortitude, which are in themselves moderated with prudence and temperance) can as well in forraine places, and in the warres, as in domesticall
- D** and ciuile affaires, performe the parts of a noble citizen and countreyman. All ingenuous youth therefore ought well and painefully to be taught and practised in the liberall Sciences, and exercise of Armes; to which purpose, schooles for Sciences liberall and palestricall are principally needefull in euery well gouerned estate. These things are seembly required in the consideration of euery prudent Magistrate: that he see the Lawes obserued; Religion with all reuerence embraced; Peace and Concord retained amongst citizens; all embers of discord and faction extinguished; that each man bee diligent in his lawfull profession; that no man entermeddle with the State and Commonwealth, before he be called to that dignitie; that Tributes and Subsidies bee
- E** duly payed; that euery man aduenture his life and substance in difficult seasons for the preservation and safeguard of his country; that strangers in league with their Commonwealth, vse their owne seuerall trades and mysteries amongst themselves, without losse and impeachment; and that they bee not inquisitiue or ouer-curious in matters of that State where they liue; but that

a vigilant eye be cast vpon them, to discerne of their behauiours and honesties **F**
 towards all persons, without intermeddling in any matters about their trades
 or professions, vehemently to defend the Church, to prescribe such orders
 (when occasion shall require) as may consent with the lawes, and times neces-
 sitie: and lastly, that those of this Counsell and all other magistrates their infe-
 riors behaue themselves according to the state and worth of their places and
 Offices, in a decent, courteous, modest, and iust sort, not rudely, couetously,
 proudly, churlishly, nor cruellie; but to deale vprightly without any passion of
 wrath or partiall affection: in rebukes and punishments to declare mildnesse,
 and needfull iustice, tempered with competent seueritie; to punish malefa-
 ctors, to reward men of good desert, to prouide that their cities bee furnished **G**
 with all necessities for their sustentation and fortification; as with come and
 victuall, with armour, and artillerie, against the dayes of famine and warre; to
 prepare charitably for the poore and afflicted persons within their cities and
 countries, that they perish not through want of foode, but that poore impo-
 tent people be relieved at all times in hospitals, in spittle houses; and (in times
 of pestilence) that the poore artificers also, which are not able to maintaine
 themselves without worke, but are restrained at home, may bee relieved by
 the support and exhibition of the richer sort, in those parishes where they
 reside or sojourne. Also, that at other times, the poore able and healthfull **H**
 bodies be set vnto conuenient labor and businesse, according to their strength
 and cunning. Moreouer, that strangers and traueilers from forraine parts, be-
 ing confederate, and in amitie with their state, be received and entertained, an-
 swerable to their worth and degrees (and for the credite and good report of
 their Nation) with all liberall hospitalitie. For as *Cicero* writeth, *Est Reipub.*
ornamento, homines externos hospitalitate in vrbe nostram egere: It is a grace to
 our Commonwealth, when forrainers are not destitute of entertainment and
 hospitalitie within our citie. And lastly, that their whole care and studie bee
 bent to maintaine the reputation of that Common-wealth, where they go-
 uerne vnder their prince. And for as much as it is one speciall part of Pru-
 dence, and of good policie, that euen in the most peaceable times, militarie **I**
 preparation and prouision be made: as the wise Oeconomicall father, which
 in the most foison and heat of his haruest will store vp carefully for the cold
 and barren season of Winter: so is it required in those magistrats of this coun-
 sell, that (vpon suddaine assaults and warning) they bee carefull, and readie
 with competent force to resist all forraine malice and ambition; howbeit, ma-
 turely to consult before they leue warre. If a prince without shamefull and
 dishonourable inuasion cannot auoyde battaile, then with great caution to
 resist the common aduersarie, hauing the captaines and souldiors readily pre-
 pared and trayned to fight, with a noble valour and constancie: which also
 must in time of peace be with sound deliberation, and vpon iust termes **K**
 prouided: likewise a warie prouision and speciall notice of such as for their
 strength and sufficiencie may lead and commaund souldiors. Moreouer, that
 in tranquillitie (through each dominion or prouince of the Commonwealth
 within the reuolutions of three yeares) a generall view or muster bee taken of
 those

- A** those persons which are most able for militarie seruices ; and that a strict account be made as well of all militarie furniture, and priuate armour, as of publicke, throughout the dominions : that beeing conferred diligently with the muster-rolles of euery Shire or Countie, the perfect force of men & arms may be conferred and knowne : and that (if any defect be found in either) a prouident preparation and supply may be made ; and that (whilest yet matters are in quiet) valiant and well approued captaines exercise the sufficientest of euery prouince within their seuerall townes, cities, and villages adiacent, once each weeke, or euery ten dayes, by trayning & disciplining them in martiall practise at the common charge for their vniuersall honour and defence : also that ships
- B** be rigged, manned, armed, dieted, and prouided of captaines, saylers, souldiors, victuals, and artillerie, to resist all forraine inuasion or hostile preparations against them : that treasure (which is truly called the sinews of war) be collected and instored for such purposes : that souldiors be taught order and obedience, hauing their wages iustly payed vnto them : and also that they be warned, and with seuer punishment prohibited, that they make no spoyle and bootie of them, in whose defence they professe and beare armes : which complaint hath beene old and vsuall amongst citizens and husbandmen in most places. Euery Counsellor therefore, and each other ciuile magistrate ought to be well instructed and perfect in these militarie rudiments, which he shal with a litle practise
- C** and paine taking (hauing read *Cæsar, Vegetius, Frontinus, Aelianus, Polienus*, with such like) attaine sufficiently. And whereas in euery Commonwealth there are three states or columnes supporting the same, (the first of ciuile Counsellors or Magistrats, the second of militarie Gouernors and Captaines, the third consisting of arts and artificers of trades and mysteries) mee seemeth, that a captaine equalleth the ciuile magistrate, according to his place & degree, defending and preserving things in possession, euen as hee which attaineth, purchaseth, and ciuilizeth the same. And so much hereof, considering I shal haue occasion more fully to discourse of this point in my fourth booke of Offices. Now somewhat concerning the opposites vnto this vertue, which I will touch briefly.
- D** Imprudence (being ignorance, or a want of power and counsell to make a difference betwixt good and euill, or to giue a reasonable iudgement of any thing within vulgar apprehension) is the first opposition to prudence : and hence came it, that each vniust and intemperate person was deemed by the Philosophers foolish and imprudent ; as hauing no force in himselfe to gouerne his inordinat appetites to moderation. Giddinesse of the mind & temeritie are annexed to this vice : for imprudent persons through idlenesse & negligence take no regard vnto their children and wiues, retaining no rule or discipline in their families : but if secret Counsellors and ciuile ministers, in office vnto states and princes, be possessed of this intollerable plague, then doe the people vnder their
- E** gouernance hold it tollerable for them to sinne with impunitie : as also, when Generals of armies are infected therewith, then do those souldiors vnder their charge wax slothfull : such as *Scipio Aemilianus* found at the seruice against *Numantia*, whom he by fresh practise, discipline, and instruction restored to their naturall valours, formerly forgotten. Calliditie & malicious wilines is that other

extreame, which oppositely withstandeth prudence, by which vnaduised people are deceiued with the meere semblance and counterfeit of vertues: yea, men of good natures and disposition otherwise (whose minds surmount their present meanes) oftentimes depraue their honourable conditions with hypocriticall medicines, adulterating their true natures with fallacious imitation of time, place, person, and the necessitie, which is by them imposed. Hence is it, that our ancestors of former ages are so much extolled about vs of later times, in regard of their simple, plaine, and open dealing in all actions, according to the saying of Cicero: *Non placuit maioribus nostris astus*: Our Elders were not pleased with craftinesse. For in those times no lesse then with some of our honest persons in these dayes guile was held most odious and abiect, eradicated either by legall vertue (which restraineth and punisheth the malicious deuices of men) or by Philosophie, which (through the force of reason and intelligence) banisheth it: *Ratio namque postulat ne quid insidiosè, ne quid falemèr, ne quid simulasè*. For reason requireth vs to doe nothing which may bee treacherous, fallacious, or counterfeit. Subtilties therefore in priuate causes which do not concerne the Commonwealth, should specially bee suppressed in all honourable Counsellors, and all such hypocriticall malice as counterfeiteth prudence to life, distanding so farre from it, as a man may shoot a rouing shaft of reason: for hee (that with all his strength laboureth to doe good) may retain the name of a very wiseman, and become innocent, in respect of himselfe, and others. But the true conclusion is that, *Calliditas sapientia perfecta non est, nec honestas, quanquam species honestas & sapientia esse potest, &c.* That calliditie is no perfect sapience, nor honestie, although it seeme both wise and honest. Wee should therefore take great care, least those vices deceiue vs, which in outward apparance resemble vertues: for the least wauering eyther to the right or left hand is vicious; let vs therefore ponder our selues in the middest. Ignorance in this, and in the knowledge of the limits, lists, and bounds (within which vertues and vices consist) seduceth very many, bringing them into the number of those ideots, whose reason is adumbrated.

Ca. 3. off.

Ouid.

*Nam mala sunt vicina bonis, errore subillo
Pro uisio virtus crimina sapientis.*

For it is a neere steppe from vertue to vice; and vnder that maske of error hath vertue beene so deceiued, that shee hath tolerated heinous faults, by mistaking them for small vices.

And hence groweth that generall mis-conceit, preiudication, and weaknesse of discretion, which cannot rightly measure mens natures by their passions. For example, when they call him a coward which desireth peace: if a man be suble headed, then is hee trayterous: if simple, and a slothfull dastard, him they repute gentle: if vnskilfull in all commendable qualities, proceeding from his owne lazie sluggishnesse, him they tearme simple and honest: if a man through the intemperate and irascible passion of wrath can onely deliver threatening rebukes, or opprobrious speeches, him they tearme a plaine

dea-

- A** dealing man, whose mind and tongue (though both abominable) accord without dissimulation: if in his pride hee beare himselfe about his place, faculties, and birth, him the vulgar calleth magnificent: if he be furious and desperate of life and fortunes, him they thinke valiant: prodigall persons are esteemed liberall; couetous and wretched fellowes, prouident, and frugall husbands; superstitious and blockish people are taken for, and reported to be deuout and holy persons: such as are truly learned and excellent schollers in all faculties, are censured (by them whose iudgements are not so suddaine as malicious, neither so malicious as thredbare) to bee curious fooles, arrogant, and opinionatiue. And thus is euery good and bad qualitie misconstrued with a reprobate glosse: but hereof I haue sufficiently spoken in my Preface. If therefore a man will warily ponder, what things are required in him that aspieth vnto the toppe and perfection of all goodnesse: if he can so fashion and shape his owne affections generally; as in seeming, that he crediteth any mans sayings, whom he list to beleue: if he can vse those honest blandishments, wilie complements, and needefull attributes, which can angle out the loue of persons: *Proprium enim virtutis est conciliare animos hominum & ad suos vsus adiungere*: For it is a vertuous qualitie, to conciliate mens minds, and to make his proper vse of them: if he can apprehend the plaine causes, which moue most honour and admiration in their hearts towards any Magistrates: if hee can wisely discern the Spring-tide of Iustice, Prudence, Fortitude, and Temperance (when they passe their bounders) then is he worthily deemed iudicious. In the consideration and practise of which, the whole force of prudence consisteth.

- Peregrination of countries is another cheefe ornament in a Counsellor, in speciall the realmes and prouinces of his prince, his friends, his enemies, and neighbours. In such trauailes behoueth his care, prudence, diligence, and consideration: not to passe like those gaping and wauering fooles, in fayres and markets, which onely come to busie their eyes without benefite. But his vse of trauell must be, to know how such countries are gouerned in peace and warre: what reuenues ordinarie out of his owne lands, and extraordinarie by contribution of the people, belong to the prince; how the realme is muni-
Dted; and how the people addicted: by such obseruation hee becommeth prudent, worthie to be consulted, and in honourable respect vpon his returne. Albeit, *Honorius* and *Theodosius*, Emperours, supposed, that men ought not to diue into the secrets of a faine state: yet he which (vpon the dispatch of any legation) returneth into his owne countrey, shall be deemed prudent, if he can obserue & open (when occasion is offered) such secrets as by being shewed may profit his owne countrey. Amongst other things, if he bee commended by the prince to performe any great embasie, the speciall subiect of his
E heart vnder God must be the renowne of his prince, and the cheefe organe & directorie, by which hee must square out his businesse and worke, should bee moderation. For if it happen that in arrogant speeches hee gallop out of the listes of modestie, then doth hee violate and abuse the maiestie and peace both of his prince and of the people. But rather if any thing in charge

be by the king, through heate or some angry passion, somewhat more sharpe F
 or bitterly deliuered; that when he pronounceth his Soueraignes message, the
 embassadour rather mollifie than exasperate any matters of litigious conse-
 quence in his speech: and if other things of fauour or honour bee by him to
 be signified on behalfe of his prince vnto friends, his care ought to deuise,
 how he may make the same more gracious and magnificent by his owne wit
 and inuention: for it sometimes happeneth, that princes by means of some
 embassadours their intemperance and temeritie, be vehemently moued vnto
 wrath; and by the prudence of others are drawne into the true borders of
 friendship and amitie. The things commonly notable in traueilling of forraine G
 countries, are the lawes, religion, and fashions of the Nation where hee so-
 journeth; the scituation, castles, and cities of the countries; the fashions of
 the princes robes, and attire; the qualities, pedigrees, families, power, treasure,
 and buildings of the Counsellors and Noblemen. By conference (vpon such
 obseruation) he shall learne the good and euill of his owne countrey, how to
 ciuile the people, if their manners be corrupt, how to declare himselfe hos-
 pitable towards strangers: for vnder them haue diuers charitably disposed
 worldlings (such as *Tobias* and *Lor*) receiued Angels into their houses: how
 to grope mens minds or meanings, whether they bee friends or enemies; and
 according to the state of his businesse he shall accommodate himselfe to the
 time, and vnto the state of his prince, hauing good note of all occasions, H
 oportunities, encombrances, and difficulties of places and seasons. No man shall
 haue power by cunning relation of false-hood to make him swallow a gud-
 gine, neither to build vpon any mans opinion. It is further required, that hee
 know how many myles that countrey where he hath conuerfed, is in length;
 how many in breadth; with what munitions and artillerie the townes are fen-
 ced; in what place of the countrey an armie may find safest entrance: what
 faire and open Harbours, Ports, Creekes, Hauens, and Promontories there are:
 how many deepe riuers water the countries; what the principall vertues and
 vices of the people bee; what their chiefeest pleasure: wherein their Nobles
 differ from ours in England; what oddes betwixt their edifices, and ours: I
 whether of the princes is in power most absolute; how the people in those
 Nations oppose their Soueraignes; what difference in the formes of their ser-
 uice, and ours: how they muster, trayne, and discipline souldiors: whether in
 marching or quartering of armies they spoyle the countreyman: what order
 is provided, that the souldior shall not annoy the peasant. So that in his relation
 he may discreetly compare all those countries (where hee hath trauailed) with
 his owne, distinguishing of all properties with sound iudgement. For if distin-
 ction be wanting, farewell election; and if that depart, prudence is also bani-
 shed; the lacke wherof bringeth in confusion, which haleth on many millions
 of miseries.

A sound knowledge and apprehension of the princes strength whom hee K
 serueth, with the power of his confederats, neighbours, and enemies, is likewise
 adioyned. This shall teach him how great their seuerall reuenues are, eyther
 ordinarie, or extraordinarie, from whence, by what meanes, and when they be
 gathered:

- A** gathered: what forces his prince can leuie, and how long maintaine them; how well disciplined; what gallant or caitiue captaines amongst them that are enemies: which of them are confederat against the king; whose parties they profess, and vpon what plot of malecontentment, reuenge, faction, ambition, or corruption: how strong or weake those secret partisans are; with what commodities they be furnished, and wherein wanting: for this is the ready rule which measureth any princes power. Hee should likewise of himselfe seeme able and worthie (when warres require the aduenture of his state and life) to bear command ouer many souldiors, and at all assaies so well appointed, as hee may be found *aque foris ac prudens*, both wise and valiant: executing the laws of arms
- B** (as those Romane Emperours, of whom it is written) That *in castris* they did *agere iure summo*, *domique ex aquo & bono*: That in the warres they did vse martiall law, and at home in peace administer equitie.

When a Counsellor can with sound knowledge like a good Physition heale the diseases of his countrey, providing how to preuent them, before they can take hold thereof, he magnifieth his wisdom vehemently: he should therefore heare euery man willingly, fauour all indifferently, yet so, that most respect be fastened to the iust cause. A stranger in his good dealing and right ought to bee preferred before a neighbour: wherefore if hee were a Iew borne, or barbarous Heathen, if he were a Turke, or of what odious off-spring soeuer, let his cause, nor his qualitie be respected, and in equitie let him hold the priuiledge of nation, cognation, countrey, citie, bloud, and familie with a neighbour, for so much as may concerne his cause. In this qualirie the Counsellor is importunately warned to take great heede, that hee with his parts doe not corroborate any faction, or vnder the pretext and robe of iustice reuenge priuate wrongs. Euen as dissensions amongst captaines further the stratagems of their enemies: so doe the disunions of Counsellors helpe them, against whom their Counsels are bent. The principall and most soueraigne medicine, by diuers vsed, and most preuayling against the pestilence of dissention and enuie, by good experiment and knowledge, hath bene humanitie, and affabilitie.

- D** Iustice and goodnesse is no little estimation in a Counsellor, when his sayings soothly confound with integritie, vertue, and veritie: here and there, in mouth and heart all one, in word and deede plaine, reprehending faults in others with all mildnesse and benignitie. His actions are thoroughly seasoned with beneuolence and courtesie: hee will not withhold his good counsell from any man: a patrone towards good persons, seuer against malefactors, in all places zealous of vertue, enemy to calumnies, detesting lyes and vanitie: no dissembler, no double-tongued person, no referendarie: for neuer was any delator of mens conditions and manners faithfull, but abiect and base minded. Moreouer, a iust man will not rebuke one, being absent, for his faults, if hee may haue him present: that which neyther his eyes nor hands haue seene nor handled, he will not auouch, or verifie. He cannot away with flatterers or tale-bearers: for hee thinketh with *Tacitus*, That Adulation is an euer-living euill; and with *Cicero*, who
- E**

writeth, that people of such nature deuour and wast the princes treasure much more then enemies : and therefore it is written in the life of *Constantine* the sonne of *Constantius*, that he called those flatterers and enuches of the court, which wast the Commonwealth, and yet are alwayes murmuring, mothes and water rats : like those dogges of which the blessed prophet saith, That they run grudging and grinning about the citie for meate, vntill they bee satisfied, whose gluttonous appetite is bottomlesse & insatiable. *Nero* who was brought vp in temperance and sobrietie, through flatterers became cruell : through them *Cesar* lifted his arme against his owne countrey ; from them aspired the tyrannies of *Rhoboham*. But it is needlesse to produce foraine example, being well furnished with domesticall testimonies : for wee read and know, that the second *Edward* of Camaruan, and *Richard* the Blacke princes sonne, one and the other were deposed and confounded by the fruit of that viletie which they sucked from flatterers. A sage and honourable Councell therefore will fence his eares against the subtilties of them, least *Simon* enter with the Troiane horse, and there vnrip his packe of parasites, which wildly seising vpon his hart will tyrannously vsurpe vpon his soule also. This is a whoorish danger, which first allureth, then bindeth, and being once tied, it is almost impossible for the captiued to get loose. They therefore that respect their owne quiet with the princes honour, wil esteeme more of one *Clirius*, than of six hundred *Aristippi*, for they present vnto such noble magistrats in precious vessels, that potion which intoxicateth their imaginations, vnderstandings, and memories, bringing in with it the Commonwealths bane and ouerthrow : euen as in a most sententious Tragedie was written by *Seneca*.

In Thyeste.

Venenum in auro bibitur, expertus loquor.

I speake by good experience, that vile poyson is drunke out of fine gold. Such Counsellours therefore, as are possessed of iustice and goodnesse, will auoyd these monsters especially, liuing in peace with all men, contented with their owne ; they bee not any couetous money-mongers, they liue iustly and temperately, with a desire to pay their debts, eschewing suites and contentions ; they by labours, vertues, and abilitie seeke to rayse their fortunes : which if they shall vpon so good teames endeuour, then are they meere magnanimous, iust, and generous : but if they doe not seeke for the reward of this vertue, then is it a sure signe that they want the maine, and therefore to be reputed vntrust, abiect, and timorous.

Liberalitie likewise is a very gracious ornament, seemely besitting a Counsellor : this, since I did handle in the first Booke of these Offices, entreating of Treasurers, I will speake lesse in this place : onely this, it is a principall baite to take people, because aboue all things they loue to sport themselues in those siluer wanes, or vnder the golden grauell, delighting in the sweetenesse of it. It is a meere follie to lauish in hope of gayne, vnlesse a gear abilitie will beare it : occasions of getting will not alwayes continue. Oppose with moderation therefore against want, which is accompanied with the losse of time and re-

A reputation: for certaine it is, that more credite commeth by one ducket present in purse, than by tenne alreadie spent. This is not spoken, that a man should be so beastly minded, as to scrape or restraîne liberalitie, when estimation and honour offer themselues by reasonable expences, but onely to vse a bridle in vaine, and vnneccessarie disbursements. Howbeit, aboue all things auoyd auaricious Ostrocisme, which feedeth bad Counsellors, till they bee so fat as porkes, readie to bee serued to their maisters table: as *Aeneas Siluius* fitly compareth.

Charitie with bountie (such as *Polybius* prescribed to *Scipio*) magnifieth a Counsellor, to make so good vse of his going abroad at all times, that he benefite some before his returne home: for euen as couetousnesse is the roote of all euill, so beneficence and charitie bee the well-springs of all goodnesse. Angelicall and humane eloquence, the gift of prophecying, the secret and vnreuealeable knowledge of all mysteries, a faith retaining power to mooue mountaines, are all of no force, if they be not illuminated with charitie: hee which giueth all his possessions to the poore, which sacrificeth his body to the fire or sword, meriteth not without charitie. Hee which is espoused to that beautifull nymph, is patient, bountifull, without mallice, ostentation, pride, disdain, selfe-loue, wrath, euill thought: for shee reioyceth, and is inwardly rauished with consolation in truth, faith, hope, patience, and perseuerance: shee,

Corinth. I. cap. 13

C when prophesies, tongues, and knowledge shall cease, and bee consummated, can neuer be consumed, but liueth immortally: of those three sweete sisters of grace and heauenly benediction, charitie (being the last after faith & hope) is the chiefest, sayth that diuine Organe of eloquence, blessed *Paule*, couetousnesse and malice are hier open and professed enemies, Let a wise man therefore resist them; for they beeing vanquished in him that held out in force against her, leaue a beautifull port triumphant for charitie to come in with her graciolous trayne of blessed vertues to take possession of her ennobled heart. It is written of *Marcus Crassus*, that hee was magnified in fūe things: in his great Nobilitie; in his maruellous Eloquence; in his excellent sound knowledge

Rom. cap. 13.

Prov. 10.

Plutarch, lib. 4. Cinninal.

D had of the Lawes; that he was Archbishop, and the richest of all the Romans after *Sylla*. But all these vertues and bounties of fortune were stained with the corruption of auarice, and with the want of charitie: such Counsellors little regard their charge, so they may gorge vp their owne coffers. Woe to the shepherds of *Israel*, which busily feede themselues, dispersing their flockes negligently without foode, as the Prophet threateneth. Immoderate riches in a vile auaricious person ingender pride, euen as vnexpected spoyle and victorie doth in a vaine glorious captaine: as was noted by those letters which *Philip* dispatched to *Archidamus* after his victories had at *Cheronæa*; who taxed him with proud and bitter tearmes, vitered from a spirit swolne and puffed vp with felicitie of his good successe: but *Archidamus* in answer to the same, aduised him to measure his owne shaddow so strictly as might be; and that he should not find it one haire breadth greater than it was before the victorie. Men of this nature are like them of whom *Salust* sayth: *Quibus neque modus contenti-*

Plut. in Apotheg.

Contar. Caill.

E *quis inest, oblique victoriam crudeliter exercebant*: Such as doe not retaine any mode-

moderation in conflict, but exercise their vertues with crueltie. And for so much as appertaineth their immoderate desire of riches. It is the generall opinion of all wise men, that they (whom the force of auarice hath like a contagious pestilence inuaded) doe make more account of worldly pelfe, than of any goodnesse or honestie: they be not truly nor aunciently noble, but beare the meere counterfeit of honour, which vpon the touch proueth very base.

Bel. Inquri.

Es quamquam domi sint potentes (as *Salust* saith) *apud socios tamen magis clari sunt quam honesti*: Albeit they be powerfull in their countries, yet doe their country men esteeme them to be more in authoritie than in honestie. This greedie pestilence subuerteth all faith, all honest conditions, and good arts: in stead of which it raiseth pride, crueltie, false hood, contempt of God, and authoritie. Moreouer, this desire of money, *Quam nemo sapiens concupiscit*, which no wise man hath coueted, as sayth *Salust* elsewhere, (beeing as it were composed or compounded of venomous mischiefes and euils) effeminateth and cowardizeth a mans mind and body, being alwayes infinite, neuer satisfied, which neither is with plenty nor pouertie wasted. But of this vice I haue sufficiently spoken in diuerse other places more at large.

Beneficence being a promptnesse to deserue well, is (as I said before) a kind of liberalitie required in Counsellors: which consisteth in the aduancement of the Commonwealths profite; in admonishing, commending, reprehending, comforting, procuring, defending, not onely requiring ayde and beneuolence, but by vertue deseruing the same. It is a beneficence to see, that the high wayes and bridges be made and repaired, to relieue poore people, villages, or societies, by crosse fortune or misaduenture distressed or oppressed: and (as *Cicero* noteth) *Benignitas est Reipub. utilis redimi à seruitute captos, locupletari seniores, &c.* It is a benignitie commodious to the Commonwealth, that captiues bee ransomed from bondage, and that the poorer sort may bee relieved with riches. Such was that vertuous beneficence of the Emperour *Titus*, who when Rome for three dayes & three nights continually did burne, and that a grievous famine with mortalitie chanced amongst the people, with his owne priuate purse relieved multitudes of them; to many sicke persons ministring physicke himselfe, and visiting diuers which were discomfited vpon the death of their friends, performing this in his owne person. Such like is that sacred beneficence vsed by the princes of this land, in healing of diseased persons, and in washing of feete. In regard of which excellent vertue, *Vlpian* *Traianus* was called *Pater Patria: qui per exquisita remedia multis pestilentia incendijs, & fame affectis est opitulatus*: The father of his countrey: who did (by most excellent good meanes and remedies) relieue and restore multitudes of his people, which had beene afflicted with pestilence, fire, and famine. Likewise, to minister stipends, reliefe, or corrodies to maimed souldiors, old seruitors, forlorn saylers, poore schollers, distressed corporations and societies, according to the lawes, and by superadding somewhat beyond legall limitation, is a speciall token of beneficence: for wee shall find, that one penny (more than statuted prouision) awayleth more in the peoples loue than tenne pounds, which are provided and allowed vnto them by law: and (as I did

Off. lib. 2.

In the vlt. Traiani.

A did in my first booke) so do I necessarile record it againe in this part, that base ministers, & vnder petty pursers, which geld, and curtall the princes bounties and beneficences, should be strictly and seuerely obserued & punished in such cases: which beastly dishonor here in England our late most renoumed Soueraigne Q. *Elizabeth* could neuer endure, but vpon any complaint approued, did cause to be seuerely censured. It is likewise a gracious beneficence, to be mercifull & charitable towards Churches, Almeshouses, & Hospitals; encouraging such as are vertuous and commendably qualified with good testimony giuen of their vertues & good partes vnto the prince; & in furthering of their preferment at his hands. Such a counsellour protecteth iustice, defendeth the people, guardeth the nobilitie, patronizeth his countrey men, adorneth the prince: and indeed sanctifieth him vpon earth. Gentlenesse & benignitie may not be forgotten in him towards people of all degrees & fashion, as in cheerefull giuing of eare with diligence and attention to their desires & petitions: in answers beneuolent; and in promise of offices serious and graue; in denying, nothing supercilious, in rebukes nothing iniurious, in dismissal of suitors, neither proud nor peremptory: such a man (when the prince extendeth grace towards any) doth pretend it to be twise so much as it was; comforting the subiect, & honoring the foueraigne. If a petitioner be frustrated, he doth beneuolently, curtously, with very good words, & in plaine honesty content him: such behaviour is much more effectuell, then gold. Bountifullnesse, affabilitie, dexteritie, vigilancie, with diligence appeare in him; his apparell is honest, graue, and neat; his delight is in companie; he cannot away with factions, and alterations; he disdaineth no mans familiaritie, neither doth he wrong any man in bitter speeches; he delighteth in argute, & witty sayings, louing honest liberty, loathing ostentation with hypocrisie. Fortitude deseruing speciall respect in a counsellor is only ment by the interior vertue, which may be termed heroicall valor: hereof more at large; & substantially my purpose is to treat in my fourth booke. Such therefore are sincerely studious of vertue, that with a mind aspiring celestially honors, contemplate happily, contemning those passions & affections, which other men hold precious; as hatred, fauor, wealth, pouertie, ease, labor, life or death; but liue well satisfied with their present state, whither it be good or bad. His mind is neither broke, nor disturbed; measuring himselfe by the cube of reason: wherefore (well knowing how suddenly time wil slip) he will not omit any commendable occasions to serue his honest purposes; but as occasion shall gallop nere him, so wil he warily catch hold of her bridle: boldly counsailling, speaking, & answering to the prince & people as he thinketh expedient; he cannot be corrupted; & detesteth for mony, friendship, consanguinity, prayer, or feare, to deale vniustly: he defendeth the truth, offendeth flatterers. In all actions, consultations, & iudgments setere, and constant, a professed enemy to talebearers, bold in discharging his conscience, graue in speech, not superstitious, neither dissembling in heart toward prince or priuat person: his honesty wil not suffer him to deceiue, his wisdom wil not brooke to be deceiued: his valor maketh him triumph ouer many calamities, & tribulations, & his honor worketh towards him reuence in the eyes & hearts of all the people.

gnist

O

By

By such Counsellors therefore, every prince and every state is strengthened F
and supported, both at home and abroad : for his owne subiects will willingly
serue him, and forrainers stand in awe of his vertues : so shall the prince bee
generally magnified.

off. 3.

Tacitus in vita
Iulij Agricola.

What strong enimie was there to this our publicke state, that in the later
dayes of the late deare Soueraigne of our happinesse, Queene *Elizabeth*, fea-
red not the valour and fortunes of *Robert*, then Earle of *Essex*, vntill such time
as through his owne credulous imprudence, hee wilfully wounded himselfe
with his owne intollerable appetite. Of whom I will onely say that which I
might worthely cite out of *Cicero*, then written to the good fame of *Caius*
Marinus : *Nemo unquam multisitudini fuit carior* : No subiect euer was more deare G
to the multitude ; and (which was lamentable to them that depended vpon
his greatnesse) not Fortunes deareling, but her babie, nay, rather Fortunes ba-
ble, whose fairest spectacle is like a momentanie bubble ; as appeared by
those great hopes, reports, and opinions, which the people had of him : but
Non minus periculum ex magna fama, quam ex mala : But the daunger of a
great fame, is altogether as great, as that which proceedeth from a bad re-
port.

What open or close enimie was he that liued in any forraine part of Eu-
rope, which was not amated with that diuine care and wisedome, with that
industrious circumspection and foresight of those two most worthie Sena- H
tours of her secret Counsels, the Lord *William Burghley*, Lord Treasurer, and
Sir *Francis Walsingham*, sometimes principall Secretarie to that good Queene:
which sitting quiet in their studies, wrought so many wonders in Spaine,
Fraunce, and Italie, for the confirmation and fortification of this Realme, a-
gainst the tyrannous enemies of the Gospell, and of that our euer renowned
Empresse of England? The first died very rich, in a most healthfull state of
soule, and in honour of his country ; which was for many yeares sustained,
comforted, and protected by his prudence : the second, both in true pietie,
iustice, and glorie, respecting God and the Commonwealth ; honorable, and
truly rich, which was in mentall perfections, and in the loue of this Common- I
wealth (which he so much loued) onely.

Much therefore behoouethir Counsellors, that in all their actions, counsels
and consultations they become prudent and valiant, taking vp a place in the
middest betwixt the zealous and true worship of God, vpon the right hand,
with his vigilant and tender care of the Commonwealth, vpon the left, respec-
ting them both with feare and seruent affection : and aboue all courtly pesti-
lence, to take antidotes and preferuatiues against the contagious breath of
flatterers, which hath corrupted and ruined more princes and noble gentle-
men in time of peace, than the sword hath many times done in bitter bartell.
Such were they that treacherously myned into the noble nature of that renou- K
med Earle, whom I lately mentioned, being men enraged with a lust of inno-
uation, and of a present satisfaction of their all variable and licentious ap-
petites.

This murtherer dispereth it selfe through the Courts of many Princes, in-
fecting

A feasting and eating vp whole families; like pestilence the deuouring Angell of Gods iustice sparing none. Sycophants of this distemperature naturally (like mosse, or yuie) spread vpon great Oakes, and strong walles, neuer excercised in vertuous cogitations and studies, but fraught with slaunderous rumours, falshood and forgerie the professed enemies to vertue and veritie; so they may laugh, feed, sleepe, and enioy corporall pleasures, they force not what aged fathers, widowes, or orphans, waile, starue, watch, and endure endlesse vexation and calamitie. I mention this vice often, inculcating the perill, and poison of it many times, because it is so much practised in this Nation; then which, nothing can be more base, more odious, or more degenerate from Nobilitie.

B There is one vertuous condition which must inseparably be fastned, placed, or rooted rather in a Counsellor; and it is a pure will, godly zeale, and ioyfull promptnesse to giue sound and wholesome counsell, (of which I spake somewhat before) as when things be by mature deliberation consulted, before they be peremptorily resolued vpon, and all the causes (with euen hand) first weighed in the ballance of iustice. A Senator therefore (which retaineth so reuerende and honourable office) must respect the ground of his authoritie, which doth *best and most to life anasomize a magistrase*. Sodaine and doubtfull counsels do digest more happily with them, that are sildome vexed with troubles and difficulties; or with ambitious persons which onely respecting their priuate glory, feare least time of deliberation will grow scant vnto them; then with such Commonwealths as (being placed vpon the maine toppe of all power and authoritie) can leisurely tarry for a fit time and occasion. In anxious or doubtfull matters therefore they choose such a course as most behoo- ueth, and least endangereth: yet hath it been commonly seene in giuing of counsell, that the vulgar attribute all to the Counsellors prudence and foresight, if fortune fauour the euent; but if otherwise, then is he condemned in the contrary. And hence is it, that the meede of good Counsellors is often ascribed to fortune, and fortunes serenity attributed to good counsell. If **D** the businesse in hand be very weightie, the counsellors (which handle it) must be very warie, and such things (as cannot admit a recorection, or reconsideration) must be with good discretion deliberated.

There is likewise one excellent part in wise and compleate Counsellors required, which is to giue good eare and attention to the sayings of all men vttered vnto him; and in speciall to those of that societie, which though inferior or superior in their places speake before them. Herein a Counsellor must muster his wittes together, and remember those arguments wherewithall they confirme and corroborate their seuerall opinions, that (when his **E** tourne inuitheth him to speake) he may not misse a mite in recapitulation of any materiall pointes. Hence was it that *Pericles* (convening with *Sophocles* his fellow Pretor concerning State-businesse (vpon *Sophocles* his commendation of the beautie of a very faire Boy passing by) earnestly replied: *It is not only fit to withhold your hands, but to withdraw your eyes from such vaine objects in these serious cases.*

For these respects *Lycurgus* inhibited all manner of pictures from the chamber of consultation; least the Senatours eyes being withdrawne from serious cogitations and obseruations, might (by looking vpon them) forget somewhat to the preiudice of the present seruice.

Deliberation also (*being a diligent and prudent meditation of things future, doubtfull, and contingent, remayning in our power; by which choice is made of the best meanes to good and happie successe in any thing that may be done or spoken*) is one speciall type of a Counsellors prudence. Which some compare to the Mulberrie, that flourishing last of all trees, yeeldeth ripe fruit before others: for after sound consultation matters are with expedition acted. Neither may counsell be profered, before the king require it, like a vaine physition, which will intrude himselfe before hee bee sent for, vnlesse some speciall causes to himselfe onely knowne, and in matters of great weight he find it most necessarie: for there be three fashions of counselling, by Reason, by good Authority, by faithfull example: which three concurring, are of most validitie. If a Counsellor therefore yeeld not vnto the votes and suffrages of any thing, propounded by whatsoeuer persons: first, let him arme himselfe in good proöfe, tempered with the Steele of reason, to maintaine the contrarie parts more conueniently: and for so much as it standeth him in hand to confute their opinions; and that very few with due moderation can haue patience to bee conuincid: let him vse all temperance and mildnesse of speech, that may bee, without contention: for it sufficeth a worthie Counsellor (let others thinke at their pleasure) to satisfie his priuate conscience.

If memorie likewise doe not by nature richly supplie to the Counsellors reading: for so much as it is firly called the Register of eloquence, and mother of the Muses, it will be much behoofefull, that a Counsellor studie to reforme himselfe by that art industriously, which by maps, characters, or Hieroglyphickes may be best placed.

Knowledge in the studies of Morall and Naturall Philosophie, being first well grounded with Logicall rules, that he may probably discourse & dispute wisely (when any question vpon good occasion requireth) is needefull also. The Philosophie which *Plato* defineth in one of his Epistles, is constancie, faithfulness, and sinceritie. Which tripartite kind is by the Morallists called the art of Sapience: for it reacheth vs the knowledge of God, it reclaymeth vs to fortitude and modestie; which illuminating our minds, consumeth those mystic vapours of ignorance and dulnesse, that oppresse our reason; so that we may clearly behold things aboue vs, about vs, and beneath vs: it rooteth out vice, harrowing the mind, and making it fit to receiue the seede of all good knowledge; without which mans nature is wounded, and miserable. They which studie these arts, are properly called *Prudentes*: For Philosophie is by interpretation the studie of knowledge, being the perfection of all humane skill, and altogether necessarily to bee studied and sought for by princes and great magistrates. For as *Cicero* writeth: *Philosophia est fructuosa, nulla pars eius inculta atque deserta*: Philosophie is fruitfull, no part of which is vnmanured, or desert. The most profitable part whereof, consisteth in mentall Offi-

ces

- A** ces and Morals. Onely by the Physickes we learne the nature of things, the Nature which natureth, and the Nature natured; the diuers qualities of them both: from whence those bodies are, which wee call elements, lightnings, thunder, fierie impressions, rainebow, tempests, earth-quakes, inundations of waters; from what naturall causes they proceede. Alto to bee skilfull in the Mathematickes: For he that neglecteth the Mathematicall arts, cannot bee a perfect Philosopher, as *Calius* thinketh: for they bee certaine degrees or elements, by which higher matters are attayned: Hence was it, that *Plato* did call it, *Acumen cogitationis*, The quicke apprehension of mans thought: because it heaueth vp the mind, and sharpeneth that edge of intelligence, towards the apprehension of diuine causes; and therefore *Fr. Parricius* suppo-
Lib. 2. de Instit. Reipub.
- B** seth, that this quadripartite art of the Mathematickes, (including Arithmeticke, Geometrie, Musicke, and Astrologie) best befitteth a ciuile magistrate: of the two first, *Iacobus Faber* writeth thus: *Inter eas artes (qua Mathematica Graci vocant) dua Arithmetica & Geometria precipuum sibi vendicant locum; quod ad ceteras assequendas viam sternant*: Amongst those arts which the Greekes call Mathematickes, Arithmeticke and Geometrie be principall: for so much as they make easie passage vnto the rest. For he which is ignorant in Arithmeticke, can neuer prooue a skilfull Musician; neither can any man which hath not attained the knowledge in Geometrie, prooue perfect in that
- C** inspectiue of Astronomie: for vpon these two first parts those other couple depend. The reason also that *Plato* giueth (wherefore he would haue princes skilfull in the Mathematickes) is, *Quod sint quasi comites & administra viri politici*: Being the companions and agents of a politicall person. First therefore concerning Arithmeticke; which helpeth him to make vp his accounts of receit and disbursement, when the bills and audite of the Treasurer and Exchequer are referred to his counters: of which art I shall haue some occasion in my fourth booke to speake somewhat; and in this knowledge *Pythagoras* was said to haue farre surmounted all the Philosophers of the world, according to that which *Ouid* the Poet writeth concerning him:

D *Mente deos adijs, & (qua natura negantis
Visibus humanis) oculis ea pectoris hausit.*

Being in effect thus much: By force of his mental faculties hee did attaine a diuine knowledge, and with the eyes of his vnderstanding did perfectly comprehend that which was by nature concealed from mortall eyes.

E Geometrie likewise conuerseth in the magnitude and proportion of things, wherein the famous Mathematician *Archimedes* was so skilfull; and by the helpe of those Geometricall engines which hee did deuise, a long time restrained *Marcellus* the Romane Captaine from victorie, when hee besieged that citie. And hence is this saying of *Salomon*, How God did dispose of all his creatures, according to number, measure, and weight.

Musicke (according to the course whereof the *Pythagoreans* did imagine that the world was composed; and the Mythologicall poets, that deuised
nine

nine Muses, because of the musicall consent of the eight coelestiall spheres, F. and of that one great continent called *Harmonie*, which includeth the vertues of those other eight) is very profitable and pleasant. Howbeit, in my weak iudgement, it may be better spared in a Counsellor, than her other three sisters, seruing more for ornament, than gouernment; albeit we find, that it keepeth a proportion by notes to delight the mind.

*Booke 3.
cap. 26.*

Astrologie (being the fourth and noblest Mathematicall sister) is bipartite, according to *Isidorus*: in part naturall (when it is limited by courses of the Sunne and Moone, or according to those certaine and infallible motions of the starres and times) or superstitious, *Quam mathematici sequuntur, qui in illis augurantur, quique triam duodecim cæli signa per singula animi vel corporis membra disponunt, siderumque cursu natiuitates hominum, & mores prædicare conantur.* G. In which the Mathematicians take delight: for from them they deriue their Auguries, disposing or placing through all the members of humane bodies the twelue signes of heauen, and endeuouring to make knowne the natiuities and conditions of people, by course of the starres. Both Diuines and Philosophers consent, that this inferiour world is (according to the discretion and disposition of God) gouerned by the heauens: so that these inferior bodies are ruled and moued by power of the superior. And hence is that saying of *Aristotle*: *Necessariò mundum hunc inferiorem superioribus moribus esse coniungunt, ut omnis eius virtus inde gubernetur*: It must of necessitie be, that this inferiour world neigboureth the superiour powers and motions, to the end, the force and vertue thereof might bee gouerned, and disposed from aboue. H To confirme this also, *S. Augustine* holdeth opinion: *Corpora hæc grossiora regi atque moueri per corpora subtiliora*: That these our gruffer bodies bee ruled and moued by force of those bodies which are more subtile. This art, as well for the rule of Nauigation (which proceedeth from knowledge of the celestiaall bodies) as for those other secrets, issuing out of the mysticall indiciaalls of the Mathematicians, is more precious to them that haue it, than any worldly felicitie: for so much as they commonly (which are possessed thereof) contemne all transitorie pleasures and glorie. Wherefore, that noble Poet *Virgil* I concerning that nature of the Planets, writeth thus:

Gorgiu.

*Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Atque metus omnes, & inexorabile fatum
Subiecit pedibus.*

Being this in effect. Happie is he that comprehendeth the causes of things, and doth by diuine power subiect all feare and inexorable fate. Also *Jannetall* the Satyrist (concerning the beneuolence of the ascendent towards certaine persons, at certaine times, vnder his subiection) writeth:

*Booke 3.
cap. 26.*

*Plus etenim fari vales hora benigni
Quam fore Veneris commendas epistola Marti.*

*Booke 3.
cap. 26.*

Fog

- A** For the good houre of a beneuolent fate auayleth more with all persons, than the commendatorie letters of *Venus* could euer haue preuayled with *Mars*. Howbeit, those that will certainly iudge of ensuing chaunces (though they be most studious and learned in this mysticall part of Astrologie, which is called the superstitious or Metaphysicall art) bee many times deceiued in their owne curiositie; according to the saying of *Thomas Aquine*: *Lices corpora caelestia habeant inclinationem, non tamen imponunt necessitatem: Et lices homo inclinatur secundum dispositionem corporis ad aliquod vitium, tamen per rationem arbitrij, potest aliud facere*: Albeit the coelestiall bodies haue a kind of inclination to somewhat, yet they doe not impose a necessitie thereunto: and albeit persons encline (according to their corporeall disposition) to some vice, yet may they by the rule of their owne will decline from it: which to me seemeth a Theologicall paradox. Hence was it that *Socrates* excused the Philosopher, which (according to Physiognomie) condemned him of incontinence. Notwithstanding, sometimes they will (vpon their coniecturals) diuine very neere and oftentimes truly: for the confirmation whereof, I will cite one notable thing, which I did reade in *Cassianus* the Burgundian. To whome, beeing at supper with the *Confallionere di gnifficia in Milan* (vpon occasion in discourse) it was for a meere truth by diuerse affirmed, That a famous Astrologer in that citie had prefaged to *Gionanni Galliaeo maria Visconti*, the fifth Duke of that
- C** State, how he should be mortally wounded by some vassale about him: whereupon to the Duke, demanding of his owne fate, his answer was: *My death must be publicke, by the fall of a peece of timber*. But the Duke willing to preiudice or antiuert the fate (by some other suddaine death denounced against the Mathematician) gaue peremptorie sentence, That hee should loose his head, because he had entremeddled with the calculation of his natiuitie. And as he was conducted to the place of execution, from the port of a Tower vnder which he passed (called *Le Dome*) suddenly the top thereof fell downe, and he with a peece of timber had his braines crusht out: a multitude with the *Confallionere*, and other executioners in the companie, were by that ruine slaine also.
- D** Likewise, the Duke himselfe that same yeare vpon Saint *Stephens* day in the great Church of *San Stephano in Milan*, was by one of his flanes bloudily and cruelly butchered in the presence of many Noblemen, and others.

In 10 parte Cal
salogi glor. mun
di confid. 52.

- And now to coucluide with the Morall force of Philosophie, which as *Plato* did esteeme, was the chiefe blessing in any Commonwealth; *When Philosophers were Kings, and Kings Philosophers*: For it teacheth the difference betwixt vertues and vices, what are the extreames of good and euill, how to rule priuat families, what authorities and offices belong to fathers, husbands, and masters; the difference betwixt instruments, hauing life and liuelesse; the maintenance of priuate persons, the vertues and discipline of magistrates, the best formes of gouernment, the true meanes and knowledge to sustaine cities, being in danger of subuersion, and how with excellent lawes to rectifie them: Hence is it, that *Cicero* doth (in admiration and great loue thereof) proclaime in his questions Tusculane. *O Philosophie, the rule of life, the couch-stone of wis-*
- me,

Taci. lib. 4. li. 11.

due, & antidote of vice? But hereof haue I spoken more at large in the morall of these offices before. Wherefore he (which is fostered with that diuine *Manna*) sheweth himself the same in all parts of his life, contemning worldly treasures, abiding faithfull, appearing valiant in the Guard and Ioyall maintenance of truth, and armed with constancie, defiecth feare; and these are the verie fruits of Philosophy: such a man is not altered by time, delected by necessitie, infected with insolence, nor wearied with the bad dealings of reprobate persons: such a counsellor doth liue well, and vnderstandeth well, which is a sure signe of sapience; he consulteth well, which is a principall point of prudence; and gladly would haue all well, which is a true token of iustice, adde herunto his owne doing, which is a manifest marke of perseuerance. Such persons wholly relie upon their owne vertues, yeelding honour to such as are in grace with the prince, yet not committing any priuate secrets to their knowledge and iudgements. In all things they shew themselves circumspect, moderate, diligent, and discreet.

There remaineth one speciall Caueat after all these obseruations for counsellors (which through their worthinesse and vertues haue attained a singular loue & affiance of their Prince, to be credited and vsed in all the most serious & important causes of the Commonwealth) which is; that, neither the great grace of their princes, nor the multitudes of honors and superiorities heaped vpon them; neither any vaine gaping vpon the popular aire (after which men growne insolent vpon their greatnesse commonly breathe) driue them into practises ambitious; which are through want of due pietie towards God and to their Soneraigne, without any season of iustice, or honestie commenced. Considering therefore first, what this pestilent and infernall fire is; because in many Commonwealths that hath oftentimes been the greatest enemy, which their owne countries wombe, and breasts hath bred and fostered, I will in some principles discover the detestable nature, members, and fruites of monstrous and ambitious persons, as they be liuely declared at large by diuers, which haue scene humane sacrifices, and sepulchres overflowing with ciuill blood, and haue shewed how their late triumphant countries were sodainely unmingled, and betrayed through the wild-fire of vnnaturall wolues.

A vehement and
patheticall de-
boration from
all kindes of
treason.

This horrible and vnnaturall appetite, is called, *Rabies quadam remeraria ambitionis, susiens immodica gloria, prorsusque inflammata perpetua quadam singulari cupiditate dominandi*. A certaine woluish rage of rash ambition, immoderately thirsting after vnderferned glory; and violently flaming out in all partes, with a kinde of endlesse and singular greedinesse of domination and empire. Many noble natures (adulterated with this counterfeit of honour) haue been falsified and corrupted with diabollicall furies, which though that prudent Counsellor doth, calleth *Vitium virtutis propius*, A vice colsen germane to vertue; Yet segeth not sauing in hypocriticall sence, for somuch as that qualitie teacheth men (as he saith) *Aliud clausum in pectore, aliud promissum in lingua habere*, To conceale his meaning close within his heart, and to deliuer a contrary matter with his tongne. This pestilent seuer of the minde, proceedeth from riches in great abundance allotted vnto men, *Quibus neque modum*

neque

- A** *neque modestia cordi est.* Which take no pleasure either in mediocritie, or modestie. For luxurie (when with pride & avarice it possesseth the spirits of intemperate & green-headed foles) doth draw persons of immoderate & fierie stomacks into want of maintenâce, throug their own negligence; & so by such their improvidence, into dangerous attempts against their owne persons, and against the whole bodie of the Commonwealt. Also these are they, which (hauing fallen from their former reputation by their owne misgouernance) waxe intollerable throug that discontentment, which continually tosseth their fierie spirites with a most insatiable thirst, and ambitious desire of domination & foueraignie. These are they, which with the eyes of Basilisks
- B** peirce into the benefits of times, places, & persons, oftentimes poisoning and deceiuing themselves: these are they which with a false iudgement, and opinion had of their owne plots, actions, partisans, & conspiracies (wherein they flatter their owne hearts) wilfully betray themselves to confusion and calamitie: these men hath God in his diuine power blinded, and deprived of those faculties by which men commonly discern all apparant & gricuous punishments, that are reserued against such firebrands by the lawes & equitie: these are they which continually violate iustice; and that (which is a most lamentable truth) such persons haue not any sunshine of reason lent vnto them, to see that foule turpitude and shame, which inseperably *sanguis umbra*, like shadowes waite vpon their dishonourable actions: their minds are deceitfull, subtil, variable, hypocriticall, and couetous of other mens goods, prodigall of their owne, burning in lust, alwayes malicious, neuer quiet, more tongue then witte, more witte then wealth, more wealth then wisdom, more wisdom then honestie; and yet poore, imprudent, giddie-headed, talkatiue, a vaste minde, aspiring to degrees & dignities, beyond all iust opinion & measure. The seeds of sedition being vpon such plots, grounds, & natures sowne, sprout forth into the blades of rebellion: first, when the noble sort of magistrates or peeres in a Commonwealth peruert their power into pride; and when the common people (whose licence is the viue embleme of confusion)
- D** turne their liberties into lust at which time all disordered persons catch, scratch and oppresse iustice. Their mother the Commonwealth like a woman violated, prostituted, and defamed with her garments rent, her haire dishevelled and feltred, her face disfigured and blubbred, standing or rather falling betwixt them both in this mutinie, suffereth torture & distraction, the noble men depending vpon parties, and the multitude leaning to what factions they list, the chiefe heads and ringleaders of which commotions and seditious factions, falling from great honor, & from their princes fauour through condigne disgrace into discontentment, presently trauaile their wits horribly to disturbe or diabolically roote vp the publike State; in whose sight for that
- E** time iustice & magistracie be held in great scorne and disdaine. Vnto them of this distemperature all foollish people, rag and rage mixt of diuers qualities (insenced with pouertie, lust, and couetousnesse, tossed & disturbed in conscience with their impious, and nefarious deuises and practises, such as hold dis-sention to be their sweetest case, and garboyles their happiest peace; which
- P
heape

heape tumult vpon tumult, hurliment vpon burliment) are coparteners **I** and competitors in their ambition; such as being neither with glorie nor shame moued, prepaire themselves to strangle that Common-wealth which gaue them life and light. The traps, the nets, the snares of cruell malice, of treasonable conspiracies, and of extreame wickednesse erected for slaughter of their best and most honest countrie men; pitched to make a spoyle of their wealth, and wouen against the common peace of their nation, are infinite and ineffable: the Commonwealth it selfe as a bloody shambles of infamous ciuill murther, is by these means exposed to the slauiish oppression of auaricious and barbarous strangers. These nefarious firebrands of malecontentment, and meteors of ciuill mischief (studying nothing so much as to **G** become excellent, & beyond the comparatiue apprehension of malice, before their first charge or onfet) will make all things in the most readinesse for such a miserable tide of calamitie. They therefore, euen as it is witten of *Caſiline*, diue into the natures, humors, & inclinations of noble yong gentlemen, liberally and prodigally disposed; for some according to their delights they prouide whores, for some horses and dogges; armes for these of a more heroycall condition, and haukes for those vsing all vile means, and abusing their owne fortunes and modestie, that they might draw yong Gentlemen vnſkilfull and of tractable natures, into their horrible actions, to ruine themselves in the oppression and confusion of their Countrey. Such was the nature of *Caſar* **H** *Borgia* (whom *Nicholas Machiauell* remembreth vpon the like termes) when he conspired against the *Orſini* and *Colonneſi*. Those therefore that would liue magnificently or delicately, with such as delight in hazard, & they that prefer warre before peace, are for these actions. The first action of conspiracie therefore commonly tendeth to the cutting off, and extirpation of those by whom the Commonwealth and publique peace is sustained: as *Piso* and *Autronius*, qui parabant in Capitolio *Lucium Torquatum*, & *Lucium Cotta* *Conſ. interficere*. Which were prepared, and resolved to murther *Lucius Torquatus*, and *Lucius Cotta* the two Consuls in the Capitoll. So did *Brutus* and *Cassius* with others oppress *Caſar*, with their short daggers in the Capitoll. So did the mutinous **I** *Guyſians* deale with that noble Admirall of France, *Gaspar de Coligni*: *An. 1572*. For the first signall or watche stroke to every seditious commotion or insurrection, is the slaughter of some one notable good man in great authoritie; as *Caius Cornelius*, and *Lucius Vargunſcius* noble patricians, villanously combined in that treasonable conspiracie with *Caſilys*. *Conſtituere cum armatis hominibus (ſicuti ſalutauit) introire ad Ciceronē, ac de improuiſo domi ſua impaſſum confodere*: They were prouided with men in armes, to come into the chamber where *Cicero* was in his owne house, vnder the colour of salutation, and instantly to stabbe him before he could suspect them; *Cethegus* being appointed captaine of that guard, which should haue attended without the doores of his house. **K** I could glue more late & familiar examples, as he which readeth and conferreth these, may very well be brought to remember euen in the same nature, and of the like fashion: but I say with *Cicero*, *Externalibemiſis hac in re quam domeſtica recorder*: In these cases I more willingly record for-
raine

In hiſt. gall.

A raine then domestically examples. For the conference of causes, and heads of the like plots and conspiracies with their euent and issues will rub vpon their remembrance. After this the curioust marshalling, ordering, and disposing of their euill disposed and disordered complices; as places, streetes, and quarters appointed to be spoyled, or guarded by this captaine, & that rebel for their pillage, and to be mantled and defaced with so many terrible traitours in armes: some to surprise such strong peeres, and noble persons; some to guard places possessed and taken; others to spoile and make waste of all good things round about them. Their nefarious captaines impiously darting those vertues and graces (giuen vnto them by God, and headed with the venomous forkes of ambition and malice) vpon the naked breastes of their native contries; whose minds (incessantly troubled) breath fourth in pestilent sighes, in horrible execrations, in blasphemous oathes, and in vaine glorious menaces, a sudden death against all good men. For their hearts (being enraged, and as it were drunken with strange and violent wrath and feritie) eate, and hauocke vp the peace of their contrimen with incredible immanitie: they thirst extremely for ciuill blood; greedily gaping for a generall spoyle, menacing sword and fire without any mercy to the bodies and families of their owne fathers and contrimen. The principall conspirator, and archtraitor (being like Sathan totally composed of craft and confusion (and so by nature able to conciliate & aucupate the friendships & good willes of men; and being guilefully gotten, to deale with them as treacherously) seemeth very munificent and prodigal of gifts and treasure, howbeit most rauinous in auarice of other mens possessions, present in counsell, and hatefull in all temeritie. These are they which open the prisons, letting loose the wolues, beares, and foxes, of the Commonwealth out of their chaines: which furiously reioyce and exult (as on the deuils feast day) to ransacke honest mens houses, and to keepe a bloody triumph in the defaced streetes. Before them their captaine (as vpon a tragicall stage made of murder and of dead bodies, a man resolute and steeled in thoughts and actions of spight, and smoaking slaughter of his owne contrimen) calleth, and commandeth some of his Canniballes to feede vpon the flesh, and to drinke the blood of such noble persons, and of others in the place of high magistracie: some he commandeth vnto the spoyle and sacke of houses; many to set fire, and to lay waste such ports, bastilles, and noble fortresses, fenced against them: matrons, and wiues being torne from their husbands embracements become wofull subiects of their insatiate lustes; widowes left naked of all wealth and comfort, both of them lamentably subiect to their bloody weapons: young maidens, and daughters wrung from their parents bosomes, rauished, polluted, and violated with villanous abomination: their

E most precious iewels openly carried in their sight away from them, which lie bound and piteously wounded, without hope of any recouerie; round about houses burning; and carcases some mortally wounded; diuerse breathlesse, and all wallowing in blood: others lying in the high-ways and ditches, mantled ouer and staunched full with humane bodies; finally no noyse but of murders woundes teares clashing of weapons, breaking vp of doores,

grones and outcries; with the mortall lamentations of fathers, men, old wiues, women, and children. Behold here the bloody scene of sedition, which euen nature abhorreth to behold, and reason shuddereth to consider; can any thing be more flagitious vpon earth, then to bestow that life which our owne con- trey breathed into our bodies, by the sufferance of God vnto the ruine and calamitie thereof vtterly repugnant to the will of God? or can any thing bee thought of more abhominable, then to deuise the torture & seruitude of them whom the same lawes and fashions of life haue included within the same limits, liberties, and houses with vs? Certaine it is therefore which *Cicero* noteth out of *Dicaearchus* the Peripatetike. *Homines hominum impetu plures deleri; id est bellis & seditionibus &c. quam reliqua calamitate.* More men by the violence of men (which is by warre, seditions, and rebellious treasons) are wasted, then with any other calamitie. And hence is that prouerbe. *Homo homini lupus, homo homini Deus.* A man is a wolfe amongst men: and a god vnto men. For in a noble and good action against forreine oppressors of our friends or of our liberties, it is a dutifull piety that contrimen combine in armes: howbeit to rise vp in rage one against another is more then brutish; & therefore *Cicero* concludeth thus, *homines hominibus plurimum profunt, & obsunt.* Men are very beneficiall, and offensiue vnto men. If into any such impious & horrible practises, or coniurations (either by faction, feare, or affectiō) any noble counsellor should be drawn; let him assure himselfe that the second punishment besides that fearefull danger of the first is most intollerable, & I had almost said inexpressible. Euery right noble and vertuous counsellor therefore will labour, (as *Cicero* writeth) to deliberate in such cases, whether they should wittingly become honest, in auoyding that which they know to be reasonable; or whether they should wilfully become wicked in the toppe of traytorie. For they be deemed impious and abhominable which make a question thereof: *In ipsa namque dubitatione facinus inest etiamsi ad id non peruenierint.* For in the combate or doubt within a man whether he should commit treason or not, there is a foule sinne: although the plot thereof take not effect. And herein is the very thought of conceiued treason (though it be not put in practise) made hainous and damnable. A right noble and truely wise counsellor therefore, *Non modo faceres, sed ne cogitare quidem quicquid audebis, quod non audeas predicare.* Not onely dare not put in execution: but also dare not harbour a thought of such things, as stand not with his safetie to speak openly. For if he were possessed with that ring which *Plato* mentioneth, by which *Gyges* going invisible became king of *Lydia*, hauing power to do what he list: yet wold his wisdom & honestie restraîne him from all violence. And therefore *Cicero* vseth this sentence, *Honesti a bonis viris non occultis appetuntur.* Good men delight in open honestie, not in hidden practises. But I deeme how no truely-noble nature can be so farre debauched or corrupted, vnlesse by flatterers and malicious minyons, to whom for the most part great spirits are most addicted. But those which are of such hot and violent natures, be grievous dissemblers and temporizors, vntill such time as opportunitie may fully serue them, to the weltering and ouertuning of states: for let a Prince aduance to place of high dignitie men of those dispositions,

he

A he shall presently finde their conditions : *Magistratus namque virum indicas.* and according to *Salust. Difficillimum est illis in potestatibus semperare, qui per ambitionem sese probos simulauere.* It is very difficult for men to beare good temper in authoritie, which (to further their ambition) haue counterfeited themselves honest.

Diuers men of Nobility likewise haue through some melancholike suggestion, by reading of of Hystories written to good purpose and example, false into these extremities : *Omnia namque mala exempla ex bonis inijs orta.* For all bad examples are bred out of good beginnings. When wicked men (seeking to attaine soueraigntie by the oppression of good soueraignes) peruert the good example of true, renowned, and vertuous Princes; which more coueting their countries libertie, then their priuate dignitie, did suppress tyrannous vsurpers. Howbeit, we may read of some noble Gentlemen, which haue been drawne into treason against their Prince and countrey, through consanguinitie, faction, or affection of parties; and some through a mortall lincke of amitie, which tieth or combineth them to the treason of some archtraitors, vpon some greiuous ground of discontentment conceiued against the Prince, or against some of his neere friends in counsell : yet if these Doues should chance to fall into those nets amongst Crows, it were great pittie they should vndergo legall censure if they would be penitent and become loyall, hauing any specious tokens and apparance of good nature, desert & faculties to benefit their countries in aftertime; as hath appeared by manifold examples of diuers gracious Princes; & amongst others by *Henry du Bourbon*, the French kings late pardon vnto the royall Bastard of *Anuergne*, who was confederated in treason with the Marischall *Byron* : For to cut off many Nobles together (after the head be taken away, when any good hope of ensuing grace remaineth by the rest aliue, as some men thinke) were merely superfluous; but of this point I purpose to speake somewhat in my third Booke, as occasion will offer. Yet in these cases, Princes should proue very circumspect Philosophers, in sounding and measuring the natures and inclinations of their ministers, rewarding, cherishing, disgracing, and disliking those, and these as vpon good grounds to their wisdoms shall seeme most fit; and when any such seditious and turbulent actions haue taken fire, then behooueth it them, and all other noble magistrates, *Operam strenuè dare ne quid re publica deprimens capias.* Stoutly to labour, that the Commonwealth may not be by those meanes preiudiced. Whereas the very best way to crosse, and conuince all ambition and sedition is by their contraries, which are good artes, true virtues, and apparant iustice : and these (if any noble Magistrate shall exercise them) will clearly purge all those pestilent and contagious humours.

C It is written in the life of the Emperour *Tisus* : how when diuers which did conspire his death, with the confusion of that Empire, were brought prisoners vnto him; his speech vnto them was thus : *Videsi ne potestates falso dari? frustra que facinus sentari parandi spe, vel amittendi metus?* Perceiue you not now that principalities and powers are fatally distributed? and that mortall men, in vaine attempt hainous practises, either in some hope by the effecting of them,

or in a feare of failing or miscarrying in their ensignements? For sure it is, that traitors & seditious rebels, are provided by Gods ordināce as his rods & scourges of discipline and indignation, to worke out his will amongst many Nations and people; but more certaine it is that they cannot afflict, torture, or preuaile more then is permitted by that hand which directeth them: but most sure, certaine, and true this is; that commonly these sharpe rods of rebellion, are made of thornes and brambles, destined to such ende as hangemen and condemned persons, which are made executioners of others. Needfull hath God in his wisdome seene, that there should be treasons, but woe be to those that execute them: it had been good for them, that they neuer had quickened in the seed of man. For no sooner hath the father punished his children with those vngracious twigges, but in a tender compassion he casteth them into the fire, and some-times burneth the rod before it be vsed; because his wrath shall not continue still against his, which if a little while it might endure (after once it were kindled) what mortall man were able to brooke the smart thereof?

*Vide cap. 17.
prin. Nic. Machiavil.*

There is one ambitious rule, which the Machiuiilian politicks haue taught to colour their wickednesse, according to that saying out of *Euripides* cited by *Cicero* from the mouth of *Caius Caesar*: *Nam si violandum est ius, reguandi gratia violandum est: alijs rebus pietatem colas*. For if men wil violate iustice, the violation therof ought to proceed from the hopes or fruition of soueraignetie, which may depend thereon; in all other things (sauiug in matters of Empire) let a man declare pietie. But the wisest Philosophers teach vs, that it is base and vulgar to thirst after soueraignetie; meaning, that ambition cannot seaze vpon a verie noble and magnanimous heart. Besides royall burthen is accompanied with a most seuiile vexation, care, continuall feare, with treason, & perill. Hence was it that *Aecius* the Comedian concluded how few princes were honest and faithfull, either because no princes in his time did beare any soueraignetie but tyrannes: or else because hee deemed in his vaine opinions, that without some sinister and crooked meanes, kings could not retaine their principalities; which *Cicero* to this effect distinguisheth, as if the Comedian had onely ment it by licentious, and tyrannous kings whose ends are commonly like their governments. Such were the ancient tyrans of *Greece* that durst not come abroad out of their pallaces; least some good man in killing of them might emancipate the Commonwealth. And hence was it which we may read of *Thales Miletus*, who deemed it impossible, that tyrannes should liue vntill were old, according to this of the Poet *Iuuenall*.

Off. 3.

*Ad generum Cereris sine cade & vulnere pauci,
Descendum reges, & sicca morte Tyanni.*

Few tyrannous kings end their liues naturally; but by slaughter, wounds, or treason. Moreouer, it is most certaine, that a vertuous and honest spirit deemeth it a great burthen to be a king; the glorie wherof cannot couertuaile the tenth part of the miserie which adioyneth it: were it not therefore the imposition of God, & that they dare not withstand the diuine iniunction and

commision

The second Booke of Offices.

1201

A commission of the most highest; who iustly calleth many princes to sit vpon his seate, and to iudge the people on earth, I perswade my selfe that diuers would haue refused or resigned their iust inheritances of kingdomes vpon such considerations. Howbeit many good men lawfully called (such as *Numa Pompilius*, & *Heluius Pertinax* haue voluntarily renounced and resigned vpon their estates: according to that saying of *Cicero*, *Mulsi sunt & fuerunt qui tranquillitatem expetentes negotijs publicis se remouerunt*; & in his nobilissimi Philosophi, principes, hominesque seneri. Many great Philosophers, princes, and graue persons are and haue bene; which in their loue of tranquillitie, resigned all their publike reputations, and offices.

B But to proceed in my discourse, certaine it is as I said, that men naturally be so much the more ambitious or ready to take hold of that poyson, how much the more they be fortunate: onely malicious flatterers, such as haue put vpon their hearts that vicious habite of speaking and soothing men vp in all things plausible vnto them; yatching their eares with painted hopes; kindling discontentment in them against other great persons & fellow counsellors neere their soueraigne, hatch ambition in the hands and hearts of them which haue alwayes bene busied in mightie matters; ministring some salt cause of vnfatiable heat and thirst of reuenge against their peeres; vpon some vnperfect grounds plotted and leuelled by their turbulent and malicious heads and hearts. And this out

C of their spightfull humours (tending intirely to the alteration, ruine, and spoyle of their countrimen) is set abroad, as in a late counsellour and peere of this land too plainly was seene, which occasioned his ouerthrow. Credulitie before touched is a meane to moue these perturbations: which neuer can happen to that counsellor, whose actions and consultations are honorably directed in the true feare of God, and of his prince: who will not permit any trust of such matters where the vulgar beareth standard, vpon whose force and faith relying diuers princes and potentates haue mainly miscaried with losse of their states and liues, and some also by pertaking with them in their vnperfect quarrels; which leaning vpon their succours aimed at such dignities as neither were preordained nor fit for them: for they be variable, giddie headed, sedicious, full of discord, couetous of innovation, and enemies to peace and tranquillitie. And therefore that most learned and noble poet *Scalliger* addeth his suffrage to this opinion very fitly in these words.

*Salust in bell
Iugurth.*

*Qui pendet ab errore & opinione vulgi
Pendet magis, atque arbore qui pendet ab alia.*

E He which dependeth vpon the error and opinion of the vulgar, holdeth more nicely then he which doth hang ready to fall from the highest branch of a tall tree. Most of which (being enraged with a lust of Innouation) would willingly strangle themselves in the throat of the Commonwealt: & though they partake with traitors and highly fauour the treason, yet if they finde it once displayed and boulded out, (for their hearts are prone to tumult) then will they presently curse him that marshalled them in their treasons; shewing themselves

themselves most forward in apprehension, and punishing of him and of his F
 followers. And if their Arch-captaine in that commotion or sedition be taken, or if his practises be frustrated, it hath beene alwayes noted that they then begin most vehemently to commend him, which is & was his greatest aduersarie, whom doubtlesly they would (had fortune otherwise turned) haue miserably massacred and slaughtred: declaring (like apparant Camelions which turne colour with euery die) great gladnesse in their feasts, and bonefyers; as if they were deliuered from that seruitude, which like faint-hearted hypocrites and time seruitors they first desired, & hunted for. The like example was seen amongst those rabble of the Romanes which* did partake with *Caryline*, so long as his treasons tooke good head: but when he grew weake and remediles; G
 then, *Mutata mente Carylina consilia execrari; Ciceronem ad calum tollere ceperunt*. The case being altered, they with execrations condemne the counsell of *Caryline*; extolling *Cicero* to the heauens. It is therefore found great weakenesse in wise men, to trust vnto the rude, ignorant, and vndisciplined multitude; and he which is instructed in morall Phylosophy, will neuer put affiance in them, vnlesse it be where their Captaine is the best man in field, and where they must either fight like men, or die like dogs without resistance. For by Phylosophy men are taught (as I said before) to know themselves, and how to measure and master their owne force. Example of this is recorded of the *Gracchi*, & of *Spurius Melius*. For though it be (as was before said) H
 commendable and necessarie for vertuous counsellors to regard, and make sute for dignities and preferments at their princes hands, whose faithfulness, diligence, and generall good desert, worthily may require the same: so doth it without all doubt import the contrary, when they by wicked means would aspire to soueraigntie: which happeneth commonly through neglect of Gods worship, and contempt of their liege soueraigne: none of which as it is generally found in all writers of Hystories or Chronicles, haue long enioyed that, which by such impious and vniust means hath been caught; and most of them perished in the beginnings and executions, which with some examples I thinke it a thing not impertinent to confirme. *Agathocles* the *Sycilian*, I
 sonne to a Potter, through his malicious quicknesse & subtilties, attained by fauour of the *Syracusians*, first to bee made their Pretor: and after (through helpe of his friend *Amilchar*, Generall of an armie which then serued in *Sycill*, with whom he conspired) hunting ambitiously for the soueraigne power of that State, at a signall giuen, diuers armed persons sodainly rushing out in a chamber, where the principals vnder the pretext of serious consultation were assembled, slaughtered the Citizens and Senators, wherby he became prince of that State. After that precedent, *Olynerotto di Fermo* by treacherous murder of his Vncle *Giouanni Fogliani*, and of the *Fermanes*, became prince of *Fermo*: who by the Commande of *Casar Borgia*, then Generall of his father Pope *Alexander* the sixt, his forces by traine vnder the like trust of consultation with *Orsino*, *Baglioni* Prince of *Perugia*, & others was imprisoned and strangled. *Lodovik Sforza* Duke of *Milane*, by vsurpation hauing impositions on his Nephew *Giouanni Galliaccio*, did aspire to that principallitie which some K
 did

- A did suppose, was a great cause of the ruine and seruitude of *France*, with infinite other calamities: which as *France* *Quicquid* the witteſſe, happened vpon it in Christendome, whose whole face was extinct not long after. I will not omit that which is yet fresh in our late Chronicles, and hath been many times represented vnto the vulgar vpon our English Theaters, of *Richard* *Plains* *Agincourt*, third sonne to *Richard* Duke of *York*, who (being eldest brother next following to King *Edward* the fourth) after hee had naturally made away his elder brother, *George* Duke of *Clarence* (whom he thought a grieuous eye sore betwixt him and the mark which hee desired) did vpon death of the King his brother, take vpon him protection of this Realme, vnder his two Nephewes left in his brotherly tuition both which he caused at once to be smothered together within a keeper of his Maesties Tower, at *London*: which ominous bad lodging in memoriall thereof, is to this day knowne, and called by name of *the bloody Tower*. Here vpon, this odious Vncle vsurped the crowne, but within little more then two yeeres was deposed, & confounded in the Battell at *Bosworth* in *Leycester* shire: 1485. by King *Henry* the seventh, sent by God to make restitution of the peoples liberties; and after so long and horrible a shower of ciuill blood, to send a golden sun-shine of peace, closed vp in the princely leaues of that sweet, & modest Rose of *Lancaster*: which being wome in the beautiful bosome of Lady *Elizabeth* the daughter of King *Edward* (late mentioned of the Family of *York*) dispersed those seditious cloudes of warre which had a long time obscured our firmament of peace; banishing that sulphurous smoke of the newly deuised Cannon, with the diuine odour of that blessed inoculation of *Roses*: yeelding by their sacred vnion the Lady *Margaret*, the first flower of that coniunction; and great Grand-mother (as I declared) to our Soueraignes Maestie, in these happy bodies raining ouer vs: whose blessed raigne, I beseech God to lengthen as the dayes of heauen.
- Henry Duke of *Guyse*, father to this yong Duke now liuing in *France*, aspiring couertly to that greatnesse, which neither his birth nor conscience (albeit well guarded by the Church of *Rome*) could assure him; fell in the very bowels of his ambition vnder that guard, which if he could, should haue been spectators of their Soueraignes tragœdie. *Charles du Lorreigne*, likewise Duke of *Mayne*, and brother to that Duke of *Guyse* (after that he had many yeeres waged warre against his naturall Soueraigne *Henry* of *Barbours*) now the fourth French King of that name; and had vsurped the titles, coyne, crowne; and royalties of that Realme; which he then miserably tortured; holding his liege Lord at the pikes point in most hostile defiance, was at length shamefully put to flight: in restoring of which vngratefull Duke to his office of *Le grand Chambellane du France* (though it was done by mightie means and mediation) the king liuing hath declared much clemencie. The late successe of *Marischall Byran* in *France*, for practizing against the crowne and life of his Soueraigne, with the faction of *Spaine*, being so fresh in our memories by the ran-some of that capitall treason (with his head, which payd it) need not to be murthered vpon.

Neither those ambitious conspiracies of the Earle *Gourey* in *Scotland*, against his Highnesse sacred life, miraculously protected and preserved by God for the weale and gouernment of his people. Adde herevnto the late practises of our vnworthy Gentlemen of *England*, against his annoynted Maiestie, whose metey doth yet appeare much great, as were their treasons. By these and other examples, infinite of that nature appeareth how needfull it is, that Magistrates in such place haue great care and feare of falles, when they seeke to scale slipperie promotions beyond their reach: which are onely bestowed by diuine prouidence, and not any wayes disposed by humane policie. This also did the diuine *Scalliger* obserue in his aduise to such ambitious firebrands, which after th' eruption of a fewe turbulent sparkes, soone and on a sudden ende in cold, and dead embers.

Certe modolus & rueruine probando:

Ne frange Locus equibus indo suuendum.

By good prooffe and experience learne to moderate thy selfe: seeke not to clime vnto such places from whence thou must haue a fall.

Beware therefore of this fearefull elation of the spirit, towards corporall promotions and benefits: and if grieffe or discontentment vpon good ground seaze vpon vs, let vs arme our selues with constancie to beare and to conuert all wrongs and tribulations, into the practise and vse of vertues: by which meanes we shall so charme all dolours and perturbations, that they can haue no power to brande or torture vs. Adde hereunto this precept of Master *Francis Guyccardine*, that counsellors in weigtie matters shew deliberation and slownesse of tongue and foote: the custome of their seruice fed with the bitter hearbe patience (which bringeth peace at the last) should so farre preuaile with them in most causes; that the more wrongs they receiue at their Princes hands, the more patience and dutie they should declare.

This, least I become more tedious then pleasant or profitable to the Reader, I thinke sufficient concerning the principal qualities and offices in a counsellor: many more feuerally might be recounted, howbeit as adiuncts or dependances vnto these before specified. And some fewe which herein are expressed, will make a man honourable, and esteemed according to that saying of *Salust*, *Multa variaeque sunt artes animi quibus summa claritudo comparatur*: Herein, not presumptuously nor ouer weaningly, to limit men in wisdom and authoritie, so far beyond my censure and about my degree, to such things which proceed from my weake and vnripe opinions; but to giue a methodicall taste of my iudgement, grounded vpon the sound opinions of men prudent and very learned, conforing in sweete *Harmonie*, with the Lawgiuers, Commonwealths-masters, and prudent Philosophers of former ages. In them for my part resting well satisfied: & yet with such due respect as by submitting my selfe in all reuerence and humilitie to the sounder iudgements approved wisdomes, and gentler corrections of men learned and experienced in offices of state with a decent obedience and readinesse, I doe desire to bee both

- A** both instructed better, and reformed in any point, which their wisedomes shall deeme expedient herein. To conclude therefore in opposition to them that haue violently and sodainly, fallen from the throne of soueraignie by their ambition; with such as merely by their vertues haue been aduanced, and established kingdoms in their long succeeding posteritie, through many generations. I will speake somewhat as well for their encouragement which are verely noble; as for the reformation of those that are proude, abiect, & ambitious. Hee which deserueth well, and laboureth in the common cause of his Countrey with iustice and sinceritie, may worthily seeke for condigne presentment at the Prince his hands: for if euery laborer meriteth wages, what doth he which incessantly busieth himselfe in procuring, ayding, and maintaining the peace and riches of the Common-wealth? *Magna namque cura magna merces est*: The reward is great which appertaineth to a great charge: as *Salust* in his Oration to *Caesar*. This care and zealous desire to dignifie that Nation which gaue the first light to his life, is the perfectest token of a good Counsellors vertue. *Virtusque perfecta non fiet condignus honor*: Perfect vertue cannot be sufficiently honoured; saith *Aristotle*. And according to *Patricius*, *Eslicor. 8.* *Virtus semper secum comitem habet honorem; velus corpus umbram, laudatque* Lib. 3. de instit. reipub. *crescit*: Vertue is continually accompanied with honor; as the body is with a shadow, and flourisheth by good fame. Nay, the most kindly milke which nourisheth vertue is honor. And as *Aristotle* writeth in another place;
- C** *Homines dii dicuntur propter virtutum excellentiam &c*: Men (in respect of their vertues excellencie) be called Gods. What then? shall we study therefore to become honourable, nay, rather monstrous and abhominable, by the corruption and brutish appetite of vice and confusion? For euen as it is written, that *he which killeth with the sword, shall perish therewith*: (which is meant by murtheres, that either fall vnder the spirituall or ciuill sword of Gods iustice, or of the Kings) so certaine is it, that he which studieth innouation, disorder, and confusion (through the secret rage of his owne ambitious malice and greedinesse) shall vtterly be confounded.
- D** If therefore we should endeavour to recount the numbers of them, that in this furious spirit of *Lucifer* haue perished; it were infinite, and vnpossible. In contrary, let vs call to remembrance such vertuous men, as from meane estate (through their owne honesties) haue attained great dignities, and principallities: we shall finde their number exceede any common Register. Howbeit, one hundred vicious and ambitious persons, haue in all Ages appeared by proportion (if a man may so terme it) for one halfe of a vertuous man. Vertue was it which first aduanced *Saul* frō keeping of Asses, to be king in *Israel*. What was it which raised *Dauid* the yongest of *Iesses* eight children, from keeping of sheepe to sit vpon King *Saul* his throne? was it not his vertuous disposition and inclination; as it appeared when God spake to *Samuel*: saying, that he had found a man after his owne heart: commanding the Prophet to raise himselfe and annoint *Dauid*, for that was he? By verue *Tullus Hostilius*, a poore Neat-heard, of obscure and vknownne parentage, raigned ouer the *Romans*. By such vertue *Ventidius Bassus* (in high fauour with *Cayus Caesar*) who was a

Gellius lib. 15.
cap. 4.

Petrus Bero
mensu lib. 14
Crono. 67.

poore mans sonne, and had bene a muletter was first made *Tribune* of the people, after that *Pretor*, then Archbishop, & lastly Consull: wherupon that libell was cast out in spight of vertue (which hath alwaies many persecutois) *mulo* *quis fricabat, consul factus est*; in my iudgement wholly tending to the honour of *Bassus*; and vnto the perpetuall glory of those noble Romanes which (with out any superficiall respect vnto the shadow) precisely looke into the substance. So did *Telephanes*, first a whelewright become king of the Lydians. *Tamerlane* of a neat-herd made in short time Emperour of the Turkes and Persians. *Valensimianus* (whose father was a ropemaker) elected Emperour of the Romanes: semblably *Darius*, *Archilaus*, with others infinite priuate persons and Philosophers were in regard of their vertues preferred to king- domes & principalities. Let therefore vertue be the pure substance of our actions and consultations; for it commaundeth by the force of a more then worldly spirit, all earthly promotions and blessings: considering how sapience and vertue be called the grounds by which man is resembled vnto God.

It resteth now that I declare the bodily tokens and complections which are obserued by some special writers in choise of a counsellor: for as in al weighty matters, it is euident amongst wise men, that great iudgement and obseruation is vsed; so should it appeare much rather in a matter of such speciall importance as this is; for so much as vpon these counsellors the wealth and health of princes and principalities depend. By these exterior properties, much may be gathered of the interior faculties before declared (as *Ceriolano* thinketh) albeit they doe not hold generally certaine; for coniecturals are as notes or signes, which may sometimes deceiue; and yet not to be reiected neither: For (as *Aristotle* and other Philosophers write) their are markes and accidents or signes in mens bodies figuring their priuate affections. In some beautifull persons, there is a kind of venerable maiestie. A comely countenance and pleasing face, greatly graceth a counsellor; yeelding good correspondence to his dignitie. Hence was it that *Socrates* did preferre before all others beautifull persons to the studies of Philosophie; supposing that this outward pulchritude did represent to life the picture of diuine beautie. And albeit sometimes within a sower countenance, a most beautifull nature is planted, and a right excellent knowledge, mind, and iudgement within a bodie not absolute in composition and membrature; yet is it very rare to be scene: and how much the more rarely such persons are found, so much more excellent and rare, are their interior vertues & perfections, if we compare them with others in their natures, being intended here to that beautie, which *Cicero* doth ascribe vnto dignitie and not to comely colour: considering how the true pulchritude is interior; whereas in effeminate and affected beautie nothing is absolute. For if we consider it, Nature her selfe being provided of a competent force, placeth her most arte and studies in fashioning of the braine, which (as I said) is the principall seate of our reasonable soule. And hence it is, that some men which in other members seeme foule and deformed, yet prooue to be most prudent and of admirable fine wits. It was written by diuers Hystorians, that amongst barbarous and wilde people, the visible beautie was had in much admiration

- A** admiration and honour : and therefore was great *Alexander* despised by the Queene of *Amazons*, because in so puissant a prince she found not so pleasing a comelineſſes, as in her fantasie was thought that a man of ſuch a famous and exceeding valor and victories ſhould haue, the report of which moued her to viſite him, as Queene *Saba* did *Salomon*, who was angellicall both in exterior and interior pulchritude. The complection therefore of ſuch a magiſtrate ſhould be temperate, either ſanguine, or chollericke : for ſuch perſons commonly be ſharpe witted, of a ſound iudgement, and durable quicke memorie: they be iuſt, affable, faithfull, beneficent, magnificent, magnanimous, ſtrong, valiant, & well attempered with alacritie, agilitie, and health of bodie, if their natures be not with bad cuſtome depraued or corrupted. The ſpirits of perſons melancholike are dried vp, and earthie; rude, heauie, vaine, deteſting honorable thoughts; malicious, ſuperſtitious, ſuſpicious, enuious, full of ſorrow, vexation, and contumely; how much more in age, ſo much leſſe in knowledge. Neither are ſlegmatike perſons eligible by the courſe of nature; being vicious, and vnapt for learning, by the rule of Philoſophie. The ſtature of them therefore which are ordained, ſhould be meane; the whole corporall membrature, iuſt, and proportionable; a viſage liberall and ingenuous, eloquently conciliating beneuolence and authoritie. For the reaſonable ſoule (being gathered into a narrow roome) hath more force to worke; then as the ſappe in a long ſlender tree which extending vnto the top and hight of many tall branches produceth leſſe ſtore of fruit by much; then it would haue done in a buſhie, ſhort well knitted, and tenderly branched tree, whoſe radicall humour worketh in much leſſe compaſſe. Howbeit I denie not but in the pureſt and beſt attempred complections, according with the iudgements of diuerſe excellent naturalliſts and Philoſophers, the power concupiſcenciall will greatly predominate and incite men to ſinne. Yet if perſons of thoſe cleare conſtitutions and complections ſhall moderate their mentall perturbations and carnall appetites; no men of other complections can haue power to come neare vnto them in vertues; if they ſet their hearts vpon righteouſneſſe, and call vpon the name of the moſt high. For vnto this precious gift of temperance their nature is moſt neare; because their braines are leſſe prouoked by the diſtemperature of their inferior irascible and concupiſcenciall parts. The complection therefore moſt eligible is ſanguine, aubourne haire, of a meane ſtature; vertuouſly inſtructed, healthfull and long liued. And theſe (vnleſſe ſome other defect or violence againſt nature peruert the ſame) are for the moſt part endowed with much wiſedome and wit: of which excellent kind we read in the bookes of the Kings, that king *Dauid* was, as faire and ruddie with a comely countenance, & body well ſhaped; & of a meane ſtature. Howbeit, we find
- E** that he many times through thoſe concupiſcenciall motions was excited to ſinne: yet had God ſo bleſſed him that he did not looſe that habite of vertue which was put vpon him with that bleſſing, when choiſe was firſt made of him to be the ſeruant of God, and vicegerent to rule his choſen people. In election of counſellors, (according to *Pliny*) it was obſerued that no man vnder thirtie yeeres of age ſhould be permitted to conſult in principall cauſes of the

Commonwealth, nor men very aged, as after the terme of sixtie yeeres according to *Varro*. Which *Seneca* likewise confirmeth, limiting the seruice of soldiers to fiftie yeeres, and of Senators to sixtie: *Per legem annuam*. For according to that Law, the *Romanes* well knew when they might in respect of their yeeres sue to be Tribunes, *Quaestors*, *Dictators*, *Consuls*, or in other offices, as it was limited appearing by this of the Poet *Ouid*.

*Finit aequae certis
Legibus est aetas; unde petatur honos.*

That age, (by which men may sue for honors, or promotions) is confined within certaine Lawes. G

For if in respect of their experience by many yeeres old men be regarded, it must be respected that by course of nature they be timerous, suspicious, incredulous, couetous, and so much more froward and fearefull as they bee more wasted in yeeres; impatient of labour and paine, obliuious (by which defect diuers occasions are neglected) talkatiue, & obstinate in opinion, their vnderstanding dull, their heate (which is the spure of action) wasted. Yong men are likewise void of experience, much subiect to vicious affections and pleasures of nature; to passions and perturbations of minde, so distracted with heat of youth, heedlesse temeritie, and surcuidrie that they cannot obserue any temper in grauitie; neither will the people cleaue vnto their counsells. H

In Troade. And as that excellent Morallist *Seneca* writte: *Iuuenile vitium est, regere non posse impetum*. It is a vice naturally grafted in youth, not sufficiently to bridle appetite. Men therefore of middle age are to be chosen, whose humours are plausible and temperate; whose inward affections are delayed with some experience and discretions; which can dispose, remember, and execute matters with a proportionable strength, courage, and grauitie; whose memorie will richly serue them for things past, whose vnderstanding to iudge of things present according to truth, and whose imagination participating of them both, can preface or prouide things to come; such men are importuned with thronging multitudes for counsell; and are to be chosen (as I set downe before) by the prince himselfe vpon good experience had of their sufficiencies. I

Yong men admitted to that place are fitly called abortiue counsellors, and certaine of the like summer fruits of the first season soone ripe, & fit for the administration of weightie matters, but naturally decay quickly: some long before they be come to be found in iudgment but hauing attained perfection in knowledge are the men indeed fitt for authoritie most excellent aboue others, their wisdom continuing long with them, & yeelding a faire and commendable light euen to the last spiracle of their naturall life; so long as the least droppe of oyle is remaining in their earthly lampes. As that most reuerende Father in Christ, *John Whygift*, late Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and the right sage, and euer-worthy Lord Treasurer, *William Cecill* declared long after the terme of sixtie yeeres, euen to the last period of their breath. Such yong towardly plants as are like by the gifts of nature, and pleasantnesse of their wit K

- A** to proue fit in time for such seruice, must first be diligently taught in Schooles, and Vniuersities: after good knowledge in arts, commended with honest and faithfull Tutors, attending them into forreine countries, there to note and learne good fashions of people with their Languages, and such things as I spoke of before in peregrination: and then towards the three or foure and twentieth yere of their age (when firmer strength may beare it) exercised and practised some-deale in the warres, which is a great glory to noble yong spirits, and groundeth them in the loue of vertue, when armes are exercised with a perfect heroicall resolution, and to good purposes (as *Cicero* writeth: *Prima est adolescens commendatio ad gloriam, si qua ex bellicis rebus comparipotesit*. Offic. 2.
- B** The best honour of a yong man, proceedeth from his perfection in armes. And according to *Plato*, *Liberum hominem maxime decet armorum disciplina & equitatio &c.* Martiall discipline and horseman-shipp, most honoureth a Gentleman. By these meanes hauing well broken the inordinate heate of youth, with some manly moderation and experience, they may be chosen (if the Prince thinke it fit) into counsell; imployed in publike affaires of policie till sixtie yeeres be past, and then let them take leaue of their Prince, returning to their quiet: for the better purifying and rectifying of their consciences, seeking after their soules health; studying how to die a blessed death, and hauing their honors and reuenues enlarged (by the Princes great beneficence) towards them.
- C** The Soueraigne (which is the fountaine of these counsels) needeth not any rules concerning his apport or carriage, in administration of graue and weightie busineses of his kingdomes and state: for so much as it should bee presupposed that all the wise consultations and actions of his immediate ministers issue from him, as being the fountaine or Loadstarre of their direction: in whom all glorie (which is attained by the mature deliberations and seruices of them that attend his counsels) remaineth. And therefore I craue pardon herein, if vnhapily some shall imagine me so foolishly presumptuous, as to prescribe rules of policie for any princes, not hauing sufficient in my selfe to serue those priuate purposes, that are required in a single man of meane condition: for well I know *Quā difficile atque asperū sit consiliū regi aut imperatori dare, postremo cuiquam mortaliū cuius opes in excelsis sunt: quippe cum illis consuleorū copia sunt*. Salm. 10. 1. ad ca. 10. 1.
- D** I know that it is difficult and harsh, to minister counsell vnto a King, or Emperour, or to any mortall man, whose riches are huge and honorable: because such persons are plentifully furnished with choise of counsellors. Onely this in briebe, the respects importing his princely care are these. First ripe demurrer in weightie causes: wherein is required his circumspection that he trifle not away the time of his action in vnprofitable delays; or waste the dayes of his busines in vaine words: next that he lend a iudicious care without pertinacie to them that consult vpon any serious matter concerning his weale: hearing all their opinions beneuolently, but warily concealing his owne mind within himselfe, or imparting it (albeit vpon necessity) to very few, iudging and pondering euery mans censure according to the weight of prudence. *Tunc demū eluces regia maiestas, cum potest quā cuiusq; seruetur.*
- E**

sententia in senatu melior, non numero sed pondere diiudicatur. Royall maiestie F
then most luculently disperseth her glorie, when it hath power to ponder eu-
ry Senator his opinion according to the sound substances of reason, and not
perswaded by the multitude of voices. Lastly but most needefully that his
grace admit a generall libertie for his Counsellors frankly to declare their
minds without restraint of any thing which may concerne the subiect of their
consultations: for miserable is that prince which willfully, but more fluggishly
rather occasioneth his owne wretchednesse by prohibition or punishment of
that libertie which openeth vnto him th' impostumes or dangers of his present
state, in disposing of which kinde of causes he should decline from any taste of
partialitie: which herein is expressed, when he neither rewardeth them that
aduiſe him soundly to the best, nor punisheth those which ministred counsell
to the worstence. And this is one principle, or caueat rather to euery wise
prince, which (as I should thinke) is a good member of his true fortitude: that
he gouerne of himselfe, & be not gouerned entirely by the counsels and opini-
ons of others, as if he should fearefully distrust his owne priuate wisdom, in
any publike matters of the commonwealth: *Nihil est cum in imperio perni-
ciosius, quam ex alio sapere.* And as *Tilius* writeth in his Commentaries of
France: *Videant principes ne munera sua negligant: sed procurent ea ex mandato
dei, nec incumbant pari in alienam fidem.* Princes should haue a most vigilant
and circumspect care vnto their offices: which they should execute according
to the commandement of God; and not entirely repose their trust in others. H
It is likewise very behoofull, that euery Prince take open notice and vnder-
standing, of the singular good vertues and demerites of such valiant and ex-
cellent persons as haue highly worthied his Highnesse, honoured the Com-
monwealth; or benefited any speciall members thereof. *Tameniam beneficij
quam iniuri a memor esse debet:* He must remember a benefit as presently; as a
wrong done vnto him. Semblably, true munificence (as I said before in my
first Booke) is most worthy the royall Maiestie: *Armis nempe regem, quam mu-
nificencia vincit minus flagitiosum:* The dishonor of a king is not so great which
is gotten by his ouerthrowe in warres, as by his want of due munificence. I
To that prince likewise, that tempereth his raigne with benignitie and cle-
mencie, all things seeme ioyfull & pleasant; *Eriam & hostes huic aequiores quam
alijs ciues sunt:* Euen enemies are more fauorable to such princes, then subiects
are to those of a contrary condition. Which that morall Tragedian witnes-
seth in many places; though his Scholler would neuer learne that Lesson.

Seneca in Theb.

Qui vult amari, languida regnet manu:

He (that would be beloued amongst his people) must punish with a languis-
hing hand.

Moreover, euery wise prince will haue his Court furnished with store of
reuerend Bishops, and Noble men of port; aswell for his owne more fame
and honour in forreine places, as for the maiestie of his State at home: by
which means if any matters happen amisse, either in the Church, amongst
the nobility, or in the Commonwealth; he may sagely communicate, consult,
and worke out (with their forces about) him towards a generall or particular
pacification,

- A** pacification, and tranquillitie. The reputation and ancient offices of a prince amongst the Romaines was to summon a Parliament, senate, or counsell; to giue directions vnto the Senators: to deliuer the law; to constitute guardians, for wards and orphans in pupilage; to make free men of seruants: to dispose and bestow the publike tribute. His meanes to conciliate the peoples loue is the fame & opinion of libertie, beneficence, iustice, faith, and of other qualities appertaining his royall apport in manners and facilitie: for in iust and good princes (in and from whom no deceits nor iniuries appeare, nor proceede) the people franckely repose all their fortunes, wiues, liues, & children: as they did here in your most excellent Maiestie, vpon the decease of our late deare Soueraigne Elizabeth: which how firme a kingdome that is, cannot but be with much comfort knowne vnto your highnesse: *Cum multo tutius sit volentibus quam coactis imperiare.* Spartianus in vita Antonini & Casiodorus lib. 6. Salust in orat. ad Caf. Considering that it is a safer course to beare rule ouer such as are voluntarily, then those that by constraint are subiected. This happinesse hath iustice and prudence wrought in and for your grace, that no people can be more franke hearted in loyall alleageance, and reuerend affection towards their Soueraigne; then your subiects of England. For as we find that men for many reasons subiect themselves voluntarily to princes (some vpon a good opinion conceiued of their iustice and prudence; others in hope of benefit to be gotten at their royall hands; some for honor, a multitude for other preferments of diuers natures; & peraduenture not a few which stand in feare of some disaduantage if they should not subiect themselves vnder the, whose true right and inheritance void of any the least colour of exception doth command and inioine them) so nothing can be more specious, then your maiesties excellent vertues and knowledge, wherewithall God hath admirably blessed you; nothing more liuely declared then your true royall munificence and bounty: nothing equiuallent with your kingly beneficence in honoring & preferring vertuous persons: & (that which is most apparant & cleare as the sunne in his pure flight) your maiesties royall right of inheritance & vndoubted lineall descent vnto these crownes & kingdomes vnder your Scepter imperiously by right command hit. But one thing more then all the rest (to the vnspeakable comfort of your highnes vnder God) there is; which mainly conquereth & preferueth all Empire; being a zealous & vnfaigned loue of your people towards your grace, so that in these three pointes your maiesties glories are with most renowne emblazoned: First with the peoples loue: secondly by the confidence reposed in their prince through his vertues: and lastly, through the reuerence, & dutifull obedience exhibited vnto him. *Parua namque res tantum ingenium attingere nequit.* For such a mightie wit is not apprehensible of small matters. Such infinite blessings hath the God of righteousness powred into your graces head and heart; hauing girded, impaled, and fastened th'one in constancie with those graces of wisdom, within your royall crowne: and of sacred vnderstanding within those noble vertues which haue circled the other. Hercin (being so manifest a trueth which euery reasonable subiect knoweth and acknowledged) I cannot incur the note of Adulation: so that

it may be verified in this (which was spoken vnto *Caesar*) *Prinus defessi fuerint homines laudando facta tua, quã in laude digna facienda, &c.* Men shall first grow wearie with speaking of your glorious and prayseworthe deeds, before you desist from doing such things, as most highly deserue commendation. Thus hath your Maiestie giuen vnto vs a golden and a blessed kingdome, not onely by adding vnto your inheritance of England the crowne of Scotland, but by bringing in with you as your inseperable cõpanions, peace, prudence, magnificence, iustice, clemencie, with diuers other princely vertues amongst vs, for our imitation; which (by the true meede of honor) propagate all dominion and foueraigntie, confirming that golden sentence of *Seneca*:

In Thyeſte.

Habere regnum casus est, virtus dare.

G

Hist. August. in
vita Heluii
Pertinacii.

The possession of a crowne is the gift of fortune, the gift of a crowne is the meede of vertue. So that in after times the like may be recorded of your grace which the Romaines left engrauen in perpetuall honor of their Emperour *Heluius*; who (being constrained by the Senate and people to take vpon him the empire) was therefore called *Pertinax*. *Pertinace imperanti securi viximus, nemine timuimus: patri pio senatus, patri omniũ bonorũ, &c.* During the Empire of *Pertinax*, we liued in securitie, fearelesse of any mortall man: this therefore we consecrate to the godly father of the senate, to the father of all good H men. What then remaineth further (after all these blessings in your maiestie lent vnto vs) but that in our zealous prayers, we with a cherefull vnanimite, beseech almightie God that all those your highnesse actions and consultations (which are and shall be) may stand with his good pleasure, and end in all prosperitie.

Offic. 2.

The best meanes of acquisition and preseruatiõ of foueraigntie being declared (as my fashion is) I deeme it needefull to shew by what courses it is suddenly subuerted. In opposition therefore to the peoples loue standeth their hatred and feare of their prince his feueritie. *Malus etenim custos diuinitatis metus: quem etenim metuant oderunt: quem quisque odio perijisse experit.* I For feare is no good treasurer of a mans life: because men hate such persons as retaine them in feare: and it is expedient that he should perish, whom euery man hateth: Saith *Ennius* in *Cicero*. It is therefore impossible for him to raigne long amongst those people whom he doth oppresse with violence and tyrannie, consenting with the sage Morallist.

Seneca in
Troade.

*Violenta nemo imperia continuit diu,
Moderata durant,
Quoque fortuna alius enecat ac leuauit humanas opes,
Hoc se magis suppresseris fatelicum decet,
Variosque casus cernere meruentem deos,
Nimium fauentes.*

K

No

- A** No king can rule long time with violence,
But princes temperate raigne many yeeres.
For wise men which by fortune are aduanc'd,
Their power and passions so much more will curb;
And they that feare bad fruits of too good fortunes,
Can perfectly discern the choise of chance.

He likewise is not rightly called a king that feareth any subiect, as *Seneca* writeth in *Thyeste*.

Rex est qui metuit nihil.

- B** He is a true king which doth not stand in feare of any thing: and in another place to this point thus:

*Quos cogit metus
Laudare, eosdem reddit inimicos metus.*

Such people as in feare constrain'd loue kings,
By the same feare are made their enemies.

- C** Nay true kings (as I said before) whose true firmament is onely iustice) are known by two speciall things by which they retaine their kingdomes in peace and happinesse; that is by their zealous worshippe of God, and their voluntarie subiection of themselues vnto the lawes by which they gouerne the nations on earth. Hence was it that *Caius* did write of a graue, a iust, and a learned, prince which answered a certaine hypocriticall and dangerous flatterer (who did affirme that all the meanes and proceedings of princes concerning their estates generally were iust and honest) on this fashion: *Omnia per louem non sunt honesta, & iusta, sed barbaris tantum. Nobis vero ea honesta quae honesta, & iusta quae iusta; & illud possumus, quod de iure possumus.* *Lib. antiq. lib. 12. cap. 46.*

- D** I call Iupiter to witnesse, that all things are not honest and iust, but amongst barbarous kings and saluages. But of vs those things (which are verely honest) are esteemed honest; and all such things iust, which are iust indeed; and that is in our power to doe, which we may lawfully doe. Moreouer this is a most reasonable position, and established in the ciuill lawes. *Neminem dici posse, se posse aliquid quod honeste non potest & salua dignitate.* *Text in leg. me- pos. trouis ff. de verb. oru & seru. signif.*
E It cannot be sayd of any man, that he may doe any thing, which impugneth his reputation or honestie. Tyrannes likewise are known in two speciall things: by which (according to the obseruation of some curious heades) they be noted to preferue a tyrannie. But in my iudgement the members of those two meanes are the likeliest to demolish any state whatsoeuer: the first kind barbarous, and the second craftie.

Vpon the first expendeth the cutting off and extinguishing of the mightie ones, the abolishing of coniuiall meetings and good fellowship in enter-

course amongst neighbours, the subuersion of Churches, hospitals, schooles, F
& academies, bestowing the lands with which they formerly were endowed
vpon greedy flatterers, & enemies of honestie: the taking away of fayres, mar-
kets and other meanes wherby contrimen become strange one towards ano-
ther the admittance of strangers into the publike corporations, ciuill societies,
and other popular assemblies that they might snarle and entangle people in
their words & actions by which their priuiledges & possessions may come to
be seized *pro fito*. The dispersing through all places of the Commonwealth
priue whisperers & informers, for the secret groping and mining into the peo-
ples hearts; and to supplant the states of priuat gentlemen and persons of good
qualitie: the sowing of factions, fedicious slaunders, and discentions amongst G
noblemen, rich men, and the commoners; by whose ruine his coffers may
bee loaden: the driuing of poore folkes into mere miserie, feare, and pusil-
lanimitie: the leuying and vndertaking of vniust war abroad, that he may make
all sure at home. The diffidence, and not crediting of friends; the cherishing,
preferring, and benefiting of wiues, whoores, parasites, seruants, fidlers, raf-
cals, cookes, pandeis, baudes, players, taylois, and Buffons.

Vpon the second meanes consisteth a counterfeit and hypocriticall care,
or pretence to cherish the Commonwealth: the exaction of tributes vnder the
pretext of necessarie warres; and of oeconomicall occasions: to counterfeit a
reuerende grace and plausible maiestie, both in person and countenance: to H
wound no man with open iniurie, but priuily to bite him to the bone: to re-
taine but one wife in open sight: admirably to dissemble sobrietie, vigilancie,
the feare of God, and care of religion; and sometimes in specious apparance,
to reward honest men vnder the pretext of vertue. And these haue beene no-
ted as eminent qualities in malicious Tyrants, such as *Caligula*, *Domitian*, and
Maximus: which being continually wounded, stabbed, and tormented with
the bodkins, and furies of their mischieuous and impietous actions and deuises;
as *Nero* was, who (neither sleeping nor waking could rest alone, from horrible
and fatall visions and apparitions; and being in companie stood in feare of e-
uery man about him) liued in a most miserable hell amongst men. The like I
was written of King *Richard* the third amongst vs, whose nefarious practises,
and bloodie crymes were vnspeakable. Whereas if we should in contrary
compare them with those vertuous and blessed Princes, whose gracious eyes
inspired peace and plentie to the Commonwealth where they gouerned: it
shall appeare, that like Angels vpon earth (with a comfortable remembrance
and motion of their goodnesse and beneficence generally dispersed) they see-
med in comparison of those other tryranous diuels. But I doubt least, I rest
vpon this point more then fitteth, and therefore I will be so short, as I can in
the rest.

First therefore, a good and wise Prince may not maintaine any combate K
with fortune: as in contending to blow stronger then the windes, or to rore
lower then the Seaes; but to yeeld with warie vigilancie to her wrath,
vntill prudent occasion bring her (in another bodie then before she was) well
managed

A managed, and taught to turne at hand furnished fit for his seruice, with saddle and bridle, that being brauely mounted at length vpon his old metamorphosed mistresse, with a paire of golden spurres on his heeles, he may ride like the great Greeke Monarch *Alexander*, when vpon his great headed horse *Bucephalus*, all the kings of the world saluted him as their mightie soueraigne. And lastly, let that serenitie which should shine from the diuine temples of a true prince, so generally dispose it self amongst all people, that nothing repugnant to prudence, iustice, fortitude, and temperance, appeare in his actions and consultations: for they should be th' inseperable counsellors and companions of all crownes.

B, Now to conculde in the foot of my second Booke, with the Prince, who is both top & root of this Counsell, being therefore called, *Consilium priuatum* (as *Vincentius Lupanus* writeth) *Quasi secretius, interius, selectius, & sanctius dixeris*: As if you should say the most secret, inward, choise, and holy counsell. Which kinde of counsell we finde was instituted amongst the *Athenians* in their Commonwealth: *Sine cuius consilio quicquam decerni, Solonis lege prohibitum erat*. Without the aduice of which Senate it was cautioned by the Lawes of *Solon*, that not any thing of moment in the *Athenian* Commonwealth should be discerned. I therefore say, that to bee a Prince is the great gift of God: for somuch as he is chosen Gods Vice-gerent or Steward, either good

C or bad for the weale or punishment of his people: but that prince which studieth, and faithfully prouideth for the chiefest good and peace of his people both in soule and body, (proposing that blessing for the whole scope of his gouernment) hath that grace diuinely infused, & it meerey proceedeth from his owne bountifull and blessed nature. *Est enim illud imperium diuturnum, & immobile, quod fulcitur gloria, & beneuolentia popularis societatis*: For that Empire is durable and constant, which is supported by the report and beneuolence of the popular societie. Which made our late deare Soueraigne, that most conspicuous, auspicious and peace-breathing bright Planet of Christendome, so sacred in her domination to that heart-breaking wonder of her enemies: which (hauing spightfully belched out in her life time the vomite of

D their impoysoned and malicious calumnies against her vnreprovable conuersation and gouernement) were since her death, in remorse of conscience forced to acknowledge the miraculous blessings of the Almighty in her redispensed distributed and imparted to the neighbours and princes of Christendome during her raigne: which more then exemplarie blessing hath answerably giuen courage to the people subiected in obedience vnto the Brittain crownes; hauing declared their loues and loyalties vnto your highnesse, being our happie soueraigne which succeedeth her. And this is it which hath made your gracious Maiestie out of your sacred disposition, and right royall lenitie; not onely to promise, but to performe so much on your princely part as they did expect, and as your highnesse presupposeth of their desert: by which you shall attaine much

Sancti ad C. Cof. oratio. more honour then euer *Octavius, Antoninus Pius, Pertinax, Titus, Traiane*, or **F**

any prince that euer raigned in most happinesse : considering that sage sentence. *Imperium facileijs artibus retinetur quibus initio parum est.* It is easie to retaine a kingdome by the same meanes, through which it was attained.

Being now maintained (euen as it was gotten) in ioy, iustice, loue and lenitie : which are the true tokens, and infallible affections indeed of a very blessed Soueraigne. For according to *Fr.*

Guicciardine the sweet name of a iust prince is

as dearely tendered amongst all louing

people as the remembrance of

a tyranne odious, abiect,

and contemptible.

G

Finis libri secundi.



The third Booke.

Office of Judges.



When that most glorious and ever-renowned Emperour, *Flavius Iustinianus*, had (through his incomparable vertues, and trauels indefatigable) subiected the stubborn necks of savage *Barbarians*, vnder the victorious yoke of his farre stretching dominions: and with maine power (in much dust and bloody smoake) had forced all *Afrike*, being victoriously seconded with numberles Prouinces of other nations, in homage and tributarie seruice with feare and trembling, to make remonstrance of her obedience vnder his conquering sword. After all these tumults, bloody sweats and slaughters; and vpon all his pompous tryumphes for those victories ascribed to th'incomprehensible strength and goodnesse of Almighty God, then did he prudently call to remembrance the blessed serenitie, which eternally shineth from the smiling forehead of gracious peace, after it hath bin first deerly purchased with the violent confusion of vnpartiall war. Wherefore that he might be magnified aswell by th'olie of peace, as eternized in the Laurell of martiall victorie, he resolved to become as religious in establishing of Lawes for the preservation of his peace and people, as he before had been famous in the propagation, subiection, and conseruation of th'empire: according to that opinion of the sage Tragœdian.

Pacem reduci velle victori expedit.

*Sententia in Hero.
Eur.*

E It is expedient for the Victor, to studie the restitution of peace. In which beneuolent purpose with all humbleness, vnder the propitious assistance of God (to which he did with most zealous sinceritie first appeale) by the studious care of *Tribonianus Theophilus* and *Dorotheus* men (of most excellent prudence, neereft him of his secret Counsels, and the learnedest Sages of the Lawes in that time happily, pithely, and compendiously reduced the fiftie Volumes of *Pandects* out of *Caius* his Commentaries, and others, into foure Bookes of *Institutions*. Which that sacred Emperour (great honours and reuenues being proposed to the Proficients in those studyes) did by his imperiall Ediets warranting the promulgation of that Booke, cause to be generally read

read in all his dominions for the better establishment of his many kingdoms, F
and people in publick weale and tranquillitie. According to whole sage method and forme of Lawes (being much more excellent and conspicuous then all other ciuill institution (by which any principalities were euer gouerned) I purpose by Gods assistance, to inuest this Counsell; not maiestically roabed in scarlet and purple according to the reuerence and dignitie thereof: yet in the verie best which my slender faculties can afford; hauing neuer attained any fruitfull substance out of that paradise of diuine and humane knowledge equally combined by the perfection and fulnesse of Gods grace.

Iustitia

Cicero

3. Offic.

First therefore iustice (being as *Cicero* calleth her) *Omnium virtutum domina & Regina*: The Lady and Queene of all other vertues. By the imperiall G
institutions is thus defined; *Perpetua & constans voluntas, suum cuique tribuens*: A perpetuall and assured will to giue euery man his due. And deriued as I suppose from *Ius*, which is right, *tanquam Ius stans, & immobile, vel iuris statio*: As a sure, immouable, or implanted right being the same in effect with the definition of iustice.

Iuris prudentia.

Iuris prudentia (which I call the knowledge how so to discerne of any cause a-right.) *Est diuinarum humanarumque rerum notitia, iusti atque iniusti scientia*: A notice of diuine and humane affaires: a science which maketh a true difference

Sapientia.

betweene right and wrong: Comprehending Sapience, which by Philosophers is defined to bee the science of diuine and humane matters: H
and therefore Iudges and Interpreters of the Lawes, were anciently called

Iuris definitio.

Prudentes and *Sages*: Hence proceedeth it that *Ius*, by the difference that I can make in our vulgar is termed, euery thing that is thought and done aright. For

In Repub.

according to Master *Bodine*, it differeth a *lege*; *Quoniam sine iustis spectas ad id quod aequum & bonum est: lex autem ad imperantis maiestatem pertinet*. Because it (without motion or coaction) is wholly employed in righteousnes and goodnesse: whereas Lawes haue reference to the Magistrates maiestie. The substance of iustice is compounded (as it were of three principall elements of the minde: of honestie, which is a plaine and cleanly perfection of the minde; constantly conuersing in iust dealing and decencie: of Innocencie, which com-

Iustitia partes.

Probitas

Innocentia.

aquitas.

prehendeth our pietie towards God: and our zealous obedience vnto the lawes of his holy Scriptures: with the perfect duties & true charitie which euery well-affected person exhibiteth towards all sorts of people in their degrees: and of Equitie, which in my iudgement is (as it were) a perfect Law truly written in our heares with the penne of godly reason. Or as it is otherwise defined; *Equitas virtus est, qua quis vult legem in multis instantijs deficientem corrigere & moderare*: Equitie is a vertue by which the law (failing, or wanting in many principall, vehement,

Curia Cancellaria

& aquitas.

and vrgent points) is corrected and moderated. This is the same lawe which ruleth in his Maiesties Courtes of Chauncerie, where the bitter censure and rugged Letter of the Statute is qualied mitigated or rectified by the mercifull interpretation or discretion of the Iudge or Chancellor, being *Legis Custos & quem penes est iam cancellario, quam interpretatio & modificatio sententiarum vel rerum in legibus equo magis acerbatur*: The Treasurer of the Lawes; in whose power it resteth to cancell, interpret, or qualifie sentences, and

K

causes,

A causes somewhat sharply censured by the strict Letter of the Lawes. And this doubtlesly seemeth to be that diuine and superexcellent grace, which giueth glorie with vigor to iustice: or rather as I may fitly call it *Equitas est quasi cor Iusticia*: Equitie is as the heart of iustice. The first of these concerneth our owne persons in particular; the second belongeth our neighbours in speciall; and the third respecteth all degrees of people in generall.

Ius, which I call right (being a *precept or prescript of the King, sending vnto the weale of his subiects, committed to promulgation and administration, and formed according to precise reason and vpright conscience*) is two fold, being either publicke as appertaining the whole Commonwealth & state, or priuate concerning euery peculiar person in Commoditie.

B

Priuate right, is either that which is by nature: *Qualege omnes vbiq; terrarum principes obligati sunt*: By which Law all princes whatsoeuer vpon earth stand bound & obliged; being common to all creatures liuing. From whence the coniunction of male and female, wedlocke, procreation and education of children proceed (as I touched in oeconomic before) Or that which is nationall, and generally belongeth all people: for in such case (vpon constraint) nations made lawes; wherevpon warres, captiuities, and slauerie ensued, repugnant vnto the right of nature, which hath made all persons free. From which nationall right all contracts and bargaines, comerce, or entercourse of

C

Marchants from one place to another, location or the letting of any chattels, goods, or commodities for hier, conduction or the vndertaking of any worke for wages, people in association or societie, *Emption*, as when men receiue any thing of others for a price agreed vpon betwixt them that deliuer and those that receiue, selling, borrowing, and lending with such like haue issued.

Ciuill right is that by which euery Commonwealth is gouerned. Euen as those ancient laws which King *Pharamonde* and *Gombaldus* king of *Burgundie* made, which were said to be the ciuill Lawes of *France*. One of them being that kinde of masculine law which they terme *Salique*; first written in the Germanetongue, and instituted *Anno Christi*. 422. So called of the people of

D

Salij, dwelling in *Franconia* neere the riuer *Rhyne*, to which lists at that time the borders of the French Empire stretched. And the other called *Gombes*, comprehending diuers necessarie statutes peculiar to that nation. Semblably these our Parliamentall Lawes in *England*, which we call the Statute Lawes as of the Commonwealth (from whence the modification & gouernment of the peoples natures and of the Commonwealth proceedeth) is the same in and to all effects and purposes, with that which is called the Ciuill law, respecting this Realme and Commonwealth generally. And such were the lawes of *Solon* and *Draco*, vnto which the people of *Athens* (that had during the Greeke monarchie been a free State, and royall Commonwealth)

E

were subiected in particular. For as these our Statute Lawes of *England*, are only made & established by the popular consent and vnanimitie; wherevpon they take title of commonwealthes Laws: so were the ciuill Laws of all free Cities, deuised and established for the generall behoofe of those peculiar

States, by consent of all the free Citizens, and therevpon called ciuill Lawes. F
 For being by the generall Suffragation and consent of the people, put in
 force and established, they must needfully *Legem pati, quam tulerant*: Vnder-
 goe their owne Lawes. So that no man hath power in himselfe, to appeale
 from the Lawes of his owne natiue Countrey: because it is presupposed that
 each Commonners vote (vpon sound and deepe deliberation and consulta-
 tion) hath already passed in Parliament. And this is the very reason which
 includeth euery good Prince also within the limits of his owne Lawes; being
Per necessitatis legem ligatus: Bound by the Lawes of necessitie, to make good
 his owne act; least through his refusall hee giue the first scope and light vnto
 the vulgar, to contemne Iustice and magistracie. Hence was it, that *Xenophon* G
 produced *Cambises*, speaking; *Nonne statuunt imperatores; ad omnia tollerant-*
tiorem & legibus magis astrictum quā subditos? is it not decreed that he which
 is Emperor should tolerate more difficulties, and be more straightly bound
 vnto the Lawes then his owne subiects? For sure it is, that he laboureth to
 make a Tyrant of him, which would exempt any king from obedience vnto
 his owne Lawes.

Ius gentiū.

The right of Nations differeth from the Ciuill in this, that it is generall
 and obserued traditionally by naturall reason amongst all persons: whereas H
 the other is priuate and tyed vnto the necessitie of that Commonwealth
 which requireth the same.

Ius ciuile.

Ciuill Right, is either written, or by prescription. That which is written
 doth consist in *Lawes*, in *Folkemors*, in the *Senators* Institutions; in the Prince
 his *Plees*, in *Edicts of Maiestres*, and in *sage sentences*.

Lex.

Law which is, *summa potestatis iussum*: The precept or commandment of
 the highest power. Or rather as I deeme: *Summum ius*, Extreame right.
 Because many things were more seuerely committed to the Lawes letter, then
 by the Law-sages and reuerend Iudges did seeme needfull with extremitie to
 be executed (and some prudent sentences also deliuered in such mysticall Ora-
 cles, as might be wrested, mollified, or hardened, as should be thought most fit I
 in the Iudge his discretion by conscience and equitie; onely to terrifie men
 from hainous sinnes) is called the *Rule of Reason*, the *Empire of the prince*, and
durie of the subiects. For all the Lawes both diuine and humane, haue re-
 ference vnto the true worship of God, and to the sincere and perfect concord
 of people amongst themselves: the vertue whereof appeareth in comman-
 ding, prohibiting, permitting and punishing of matters and persons. *Iambli-*
cus calleth the Law *Rectam rationē & reginam omnium, qua recta & iusta iuber,*
veraque contraria: The true reason and Queene of all causes; commanding
 persons to doe right, and iustice, and prohibiting the contrarie: Which is in
 effect the same with *Iustum*, being that, *Quod cuiquam secundum praeceptum &*
praescriptum domini fit: Which is done to euery man according to the king or K
 Prince his precept and prescription. For it is to be presupposed that the prince
 dealeth merely with right and equitie towards all men: whereas if Iustice be
 the scope or precinct of the Lawes; and if those Lawes vpon commande-
 ment

- A** ment of the prince be put in execution ; (which prince representeth vnto the people the liuely figure of Almighty God in his royall person) it must of necessity follow, that the prince his lawes should haue a taste and resemblance of Gods lawes also : and hence is it which I deriue as a position sure & infallible; that they which feare to offend the lawes of God stand not in any feare of the punishment which is by the laws of man limited: because they wil not offend either through impietie, or through the want of natie iustice and charitie. Those also which in feare to loose their present liues or liberties, & those which in loue of this world, and those which in vsing this world as though they should alwayes vse it, withdraw themselves from open offences, are for the most part Epicures, Atheists, Hypocrites, or wicked persons, not performing any good thing out of their owne francke wils and honest consciences, but by constraint and feare. Onely they that out of their owne toward natures and in incre loue to vertue, feare the transgression of lawes and iustice are honorably to be respected and cherished according to that saying of the Poet.

*Oderunt peccare boni virtus amore,
Oderunt peccare mali formidine pœna.*

- C** Good men stand in feare to commit offences, through that loue which by diuine grace they beare to vertue : wicked men are loath to doe wickedly because they stand in feare of that punishment which is limited by the lawes.

Moreouer mans only feare of the lawes cannot purge his conscience cleane from sinne ; but merely taketh away from him the licence by which he doth offend. *Leges enim possunt delicta punire, conscientiam munire non possunt.* For the lawes may punish offences, but haue no power to corroborate or munite the Conscience. And so much in briebe concerning *Lex* generally : which was instituted likewise (euen as in those places aforesaid) amongst the Romanes of ancient ages past, at Rome vpon the request of a magistrate *Senatori* all being (as it were) *Proconsul* for that time.

- D** *Plebiscitum* which I call *Folkemot* (because this word hath beene ancient in *Plebiscitum*, *Folkemot*.) our lawes) was that which the magistrate or mouth of the Commons, vpon motion and suit, as bearing office of their speaker and Tribune did get ratified by the Romane Consuls and Senators on their behalfe. Howbeit *Folkemot* as it might be taken by th'interpretation of that ancient Saxon word importeth some base assemblie or conuention of the meaner sort of people, making and instituting lawes after their owne lustes : for in my iudgement that might be called a *Folkemot* where the base commoners and inhabitants in any bad ordered Commonwealth (as not acknowledging any lords or superiors) should make lawes or choose magistrates vpon their owne improper opinions, and indiscretions ; as I touched in the morals of my second booke, in-treating of the worst popular estate called Anarchie. And such was it (which in my iudgement might be called a *Folkemot*) that happened in the dayes of King *Henrie* the third after the conquest: when a multitude of the baser Commoners assembled at Oxford; where those blockheads of that time exempted

the king with his nobles and all others that had knowledge to reade and write from hauing any place or vote in their parliament, sauing such as were to recorde their ridiculous and vnlawfull actions. Such orders likewise as the baser sort in villages, hamlets, and poore townes doe make amongst them felues concerning their societies: as in matters of their parishes, of commons of pasture, of moore, or of any consultation concerning the common priuiledge of that towneship, hundred, rape, or wapentake where they liue, being now called Bierlawes; and not retaining any force of written lawes, but by custumarie prescription within mans memorie retained; as I thinke) may be properly called *Plebiscita*, and *Folkemos*. Hereof (being so well knowen to diuers professors and students of our commonlawes in this Realme) I will not speake any more: onely the difference whereupon I bring in that vnusall terme *Folkemos* (according to my translation) is by the imperial institutions thus concerned. This word *Plebs* or *Folke* to the baser commons; and vnto priuate persons of meane condition is onely proper: whereas *Populus* or people includeth nobles and all others their inferiours generally. F

Plebs & Populus.

Placita Principum.

Plees of Princes, or such mandates as onely proceed from the kings will and pleasure (to whom the people haue ascribed all souerainetie) consist in letters, mandatorie, missiue, or in writs of diuers natures: as in the priuiledge of our princes according to forme of our commonlawes of this Realme: or by decrees awarded vpon his highnesses owne knowledge; or out of any of his highnesses courts, for the proceesse and aduancement of iustice; betwixt partie and partie: or in that which is most neare vnto the legall meaning and interpretation of *Placita principum* in our common lawes of this realme in cases of treasons and felonies of diuers natures being called *Placita corona*, Plees of the crowne: or by the kings proclamations and edicts bearing the same force that lawes parliamentall haue, which by the Romanes were called constitutions. G

Anno 37. Hen. 8. chap. 8.

Edicta magistratuum.

Edicts of magistrates were called the lawes of honour, because by those noble patritians and honorable magistrates which made and caused them to be publicly proclaimed that title was by the Lawfathers and Consuls permitted and assigned vnto them by speciall priuiledge retaining the like vigor with their ciuill lawes generally receiued and ratified. H

To such edicts may those orders, warrants, precepts, inhibitions, and actes of the like nature (awarded and subscribed by the secret counsellors of our princes in these dayes) be fitly resembled: semblably those metropolitall and episcopall mandates and promulgations within their seuerall prouinces and diocesse concerning Church discipline; as all other writs and precepts proceeding from other speciall magistrates of the commonwealth of what nature soeuer as from iustices in the ecclesiasticall and ciuill commissions; either for causes criminall or for the peace, and from Maiors, Deanes, and Chapters, Archdeacons, and other head officers of towns corporate, colledges, & lordships with such like within their seuerall liberties awarranted by the statute lawes of this realme; and retaining some force of those lawes as being mediate meanes legally limited, and ordained towards the readier and more com-

modious I

A modious aduancemēt of iustice) are not improperly called *Edicta magistratuum*. Sententia prudentum.

Sentences of prudent persons, were opinions of certaine Sages of the Lawes chosen to decide weightie matters in controuersie betwixt parties. And these Law-fathers or Iudges did enucleate diuers difficult points thereof, by reason and conscience. These through permission of the Emperour did interpret all the Lawes, and were called *Iurisprudentes*, or the learned in the Lawes: from whose opinion being once confirmed, no Iudges might in any Cases haue appealed. Like vnto them is our reportes of Lawcases, and the iuridicall sentences of our learned Iudges in matters of long suspence and ambiguitye; which haue depended many yeeres in sute at our Commonlawes of this

B Realme, betwixt persons in certaine cases of right; and at length haue been finally determined, after infinite prooffe and long discussion by the full consent of all our learned Iudges. Howbeit, these reports and finall sentences in such Cases, cannot binde the Iudges of after-times in the same Cases, to giue sentence accordingly: which argueth that amongst vs those reports or finall sentences of Iudges haue not such legall force; as those *Sententia prudentum* (being th'opinions of men learned in the Lawes) had formerly. Howbeit, they be vehement motiues, inductions, and guides vnto Iudges in such Cases, to leane vnto the like opinions. For considering that it hath bene diuers times seene in a case contrauertible after it hath been commended vnto legall tryall, that the Iudges of the *Kings bench* of the *Common plees*, and of the

C *Exchequer*, haue all of them differed and dissented in their opinions, deliuered of one and the same case amongst themselues: euery Court yeelding reasons probable for the maintenance and corroboration of their diuers sentences.) It should therefore seeme to stand with great right and reason, that such sentences of reuerend and learned Iudges in our Common-lawes formerly giuen and past, should not necessarily binde all other Iudges after them: which grounded vpon good and probable reason with equitie) may percase in some pointes vary from those former. Notwithstanding, if all the learned Iudges of this Realme assemble in the *Exchequer* or elf-where, to conclude vpon any weightie case (ambiguously depending in the Courts, either for the Prince, or for any subiect of what condition soeuer) should with a francke consent and vnanimite giue opinion according to their priuate consciences, and sincere interpretation of the Law: without question it must of force moue the Iudges in succession (which handle the like cases) to dispatch them, by that precedent, and with expedition accordingly.

Ciuiill right vnrwritten or customarie (being approued with long vse and consent of the people imbracing it) retaineth equall force with the Lawes. Ius scriptum, non scriptum.

E The *Lacedemonians* vsed those customarie Lawes altogether; and the *Athenians* from whence certaine learned in Antiquities suppose the ground of our English common-lawes to be deriued, and brought hether, first in the Greeke tongue: euen as the *Egyptian* lawes were by *Orpheus* out of *Egypt* into *Greece*: Diod. Siculus lib. 2. bib. 1. 18. which are said to be the true grounds of all nationall and ciuill-lawes at this day through the world. And these Lawes were all of them written and preserved as Records in Bookes.

*Interpersonarum
et rerum.*

This is the difference betwixt the right of nature, and of ciuill right ; that F
the naturall is firme and immutable, the ciuill is changed and and abrogated,
by consent of persons at any time: As when in a present Parliament such a
Statute happeneth to be repealed, annullated, or antiquated, which had been
enacted, instituted, and established in other Parliaments before. Finally, the
whole scope of all iustice and law whatsoeuer, with the grounds wherevpon
all crimes and trespasses be perpetrated, punished, and redressed in Iustice
and equitie, concerneth either persons or goods.

The course of our English lawes holdeth in erection of Courtes, which
Ceriolano termeth Counsels; and these are either Ecclesiasticall or ciuill. The
great Court of Parliament consisting of both; deuifeth laws most behooffull G
for the time, not to the Prince or any particular person onely ; but for the
Commonwealth; as those ancient Law-makers *Zaleuchus*, *Charondas*, *Ono-*
macritus, *Philolaus*, *Draco*, *Pittacus*, *Androdromas* did before : most of whose
Hystories are extant, adding vnto them *Lycurgus* and *Solon*; eternally famous
for teaching methods of excellent gouernment.

These our Parliament lawes like liuely blood disperfed through the mem-
bers and prouinces of our whole Common-wealth are executed in time, and
vpon needfull occasion as is fit; ministring matter for all other inferior courts,
which haue iurisdiction ouer all causes needing present succour. No lawes are
in force against these Parliamentall acts or institutions. The causes there hand- H
led being either Ecclesiasticall or ciuill binde all persons of this kingdom, for-
somuch as the whole substance of this Commonwealth, high and low, rich
and poore, is supposed to be there. If therefore any thing passe in those hou-
ses of Parliament by generall consent, concerning the publicke weale or gene-
rall good or euill, it behooueth first that they soundly and maturely deliberate
and consult vpon any thing important ; sifting out the circumstances which
may tend to the most benefit or preiudice, and (conscionably pondering each
point in the ballance of reason) may condescend to that which will least pre-
iudice the maine : for when the billes of those houses are once exhibited, past,
and inacted, they cannot be repealed without another Parliament, by gene- I
rall consent of the Prince and of all persons. In this high court, all Iudge-
ments (issuing out of the Kings bench, the Chauncerie, Common ples, the
Exchequer, the court of Wardes, and that which proceedeth out of the
court of Parliament it selfe) may bee reuersed by writ of Error. There are
likewise other courts Ecclesiasticall and Ciuill: Ecclesiasticall, as the whole
Conuocation of our Clergie assembled with our States of Parliament, con-
sisting of Deanes and Chapiters, Archdeacons, Proctors of Cathedrall
Churches, and Deligates, which are the generall; with prouinciall Synods of
Canterbury and *Yorke*, vnto whom all the Bishoppicks of *England* and *Wales*
suffragate. In speciall such generall courts as answere to this Synod are the K
Consistorie, the Arches for appeales, court of the Chancelor or Audience,
Commisseries court, or the Prerogatiue for probate of Testaments, with
the court of Faculties for dispensations: the courts held at *Canterbury* by the
Chancellor for the Diocesse, the court of peculiar Deaneries appertaining
th'Arch-

A th'Archbishop, and yet belonging vnto diuers Bishoprickes, vnto which other Byshops are also subiect. Euery priuate Bishop or Soueraigne haue courts also within their seuerall Diocesse to themselves peculiar; their courts of Chancellors, Archdeacons or Officials.

Ciuill courts hold ples either in cases of right dealing, or in ciuill causes betwixt the prince and his tenants. But of the Exchequer, where those causes betwixt the Prince and his tenants are decyded, I did speake somewhat in my first Booke.

The Dutchie of *Lancaster* by grant from King *Edward* the third, to *John* of *Gaunt* was extinct by vnion of Possession, with the crowne in person of **B** King *Henrie* the fourth, by whom it was seuered; and so continued the whole times of King *Henrie* the fift, and King *Henry* the sixth: then vnited by *Edward* the fourth, which being seperated againe by King *Henrie* the seuenth, remaineth yet accordingly.

The Court of Chancerie wherein ought to bee the seate of equitie, which mitigateth or morderateth the Law; or as *Aristotle* calleth it, *ἐπιμετρία* *Tanquā sine fūco*, without guile or subtile hypocrysie, should seeme to distribute and execute the Lawe of nature and conscience, being corrected by reason, but confirmed by Religion. It is that *consulens* of the soule, or that naturall facultie which perswadeth the good, and diswadeth that which is euill: and therefore (as I sayd elsewhere) Equitie should seeme to bee that Balme, which moderifieth and molefieth the rigorous Letter and rugged forehead of Law, graciously smoothing the same with a blessed serenitie. For when the Law by seuer interpretation is drawne to inconuenient kinds of *Lambert.* facts, and by colourable arguments mooued to frustrate the good meaning of the Statute; then our recourse in *England* is made vnto the Chancerie, being so notable and common, that in other Courts through the corrupt leuine and couetous malice of some Lawyers, right is many times peruerterd. For diuers wylie Sophysters arguing with subtile insinuations, and heaping vp authorities enforce the Letter of our Statutes, that they may bee thereby **D** comodated to their owne corrupt purposes: so that the violence done by such a Counsellor, is much more then that which is offered by the wrong dealing plaintiffe or defendant, against the innocent grieued. Hence is this iniquitie thus enforced by the smoothe tongue of a subtile Lawyer, which often times vrgeth and procureth a seuer or sinister sentence: from whence appeale is made vnto this Court of equitie, which is the Kings iust mercie seat, from whence is dispensed that which is vulgarly called *aquum & bonum*, *aquum & iustum*, *aquum iustum*: Intimating righteousness and goodnesse, right and iustice, and indifferent iustice: for euen the lawes themselves require that they may be gouerned by truth, *Es ut leni, facili, ac benigna interpretatiōe temperentur*: *verēque dicitur, nullus recedat a Cancellaria sine remedio*: *Lambert.* **E** To be qualified with a gentle, milde, and fauourable interpretation: And it is a true saying; *Let no man depart from the Court of Chancerie without remedie*. The iudgements deliuered in this Court of honourable grace cannot be (but *4. Hen. 7. 4.* by the Court Parliament) reuerfed: the speciall proceedings in Chancerie are by

*Monstransie
dant.*

by petitions, trauerles, and shewing of right. In this Court the Lord Chauncellor is iudge with the master of Rolles: next vnder them the masters of the Chauncerie, the fixe Clerkes, and cursitors. Adioyning these is the court of requests. All those ciuill courts prementioned hold plee betwixt subiect and subiect either in triall of land causes, as the kings Bench, so farre at it dealeth in matters of debt, assumption, actions vpon the case, properly belonging to the court of the Common ples; or in the Common ples begun by king *Henrie the 3.* Likewise in the matters of Marshallsea within the virge, limited to twelue miles neere to the kings house and no more: where the steward and Marshall are iudges, or in marine causes determinable in the Admirallie; which court was erected by king *Edward the third*: all of them being generall courts. Those which are speciall and peculier to some one prouince, people, or seignorie subiect to the state of this crowne doe follow. The Constables court in Wales, wherein the President and counsell with the Secretarie and examiner, the Clarke of the counsell, and keeper of the billes doe sit. In the North part of England also, where, at *Yorke* a President and counsell is established: both which counsels are fashioned according to the forme of Parliaments in France. Likewise the Chancellers court in the Exchequer, which hath a Seale, the writs vnder which are more antient then the Register or Pre-rogatiue.

There are also diuers base courts, which (as it should seeme) were first of any that we can read begunne by *Moses*, who did establish Iudges: These ruled Tribes, Hundreds; Fifties, tenths; to whom he referred the decision of small causes, reseruing to himselfe matters of most importance. These courts were continued amongst vs in example by king *Alfred the Saxon* and a Christian king, who deuided his realme, First into lathes, rapes, ridings; and them into wapentakes, hundreds; and those into leets, court Barons, tithings, piepouderers. Secondly, into Sherifes turnes, and hundreds. King *Henry the second* deuided this realme into fixe parts, vnto each of which he did assigne three iustices, called Itinerants by *Bracton* and iustices in eire by *Britton*, whose circuits *Roger Howeden* describeth to be like our iuridicall circuits at this day: and so much in generall touching the formes and nature of our Ecclesiasticall and ciuill courts in this realme, which master *William Camden* our most learned Brittain *Antiquarie* did very commendably set forth in the last edition of his booke. Now somewhat concerning the lawes, but in speciall touching our owne nation.

It is said, that *Brutus* (vpon his settling in this Iland) did write a booke of lawes in the Greeke tongue collected out of the Troiane lawes 1103. yeres before Christs birth, which Greeke lawes the *Druides* first administred in this land being solemnly by vowes inhibited to promulgate them to vulgar vnderstanding. From these *Druides* (according to *Cesar*) being found out amongst vs, a colonie was deducted into Galle for the instruction of that people. The frequent and reciprocall commerce and trafique betwixt the Galles and Brittaines in those times, like to be by couenant or deeds ratified according to those Greeke lawes, by which both the nations were gouerned, should seeme

(as

*Wile Dent. 1.
cap. 9. Exod. 18.
Numb. 11. cap.*

*Lih. 6. belli
gallici,*

A (as *Strabo* thinketh) to confirme so much, *Molmusius Domnallo* instituted two bookes of lawes in this land called municipiall and iudicarie, importing the statute lawes and the common lawes. After him *Mercia Proba* the wife of king *Guinseline*, another booke called Merciaes lawes. King *Afred* also gathered diuers which (being into one volume compiled) he named a breuiarie drawen from diuers lawes of the Troians, Greeks, Brittaines, Saxons and Danes. Also *Sigibert* king of the East Angles published a booke called the Institutes of Lawes. *Edward* the Confessor next king before *William* the first, amongst the diuine and worthiest lawyers may be registred, which out of those infinite volumes of Brittish, Romaine, Danish, and English lawes made a choise Rapfodie which he did intitule the common law: as by the wordes of diuers diligent and faithfull Antiquaries appeareth. After these princes king *William* the first (vpon his great victories and militarie trauels in subduing the rebellious violence of the borderers impaling this land) instituted diuers excellent and commodious lawes, abolished since then, abrogating others which were not so necessarie for those times, as *Geruas* of Tilbury writeth. After whom his sonne *H.* the first surnamed *Henry Beauclerke* (of whom *Henrie* of Huntington, who liued in his dayes recordeth much) being a very learned and politike prince abolished certaine of them, restoring diuers of the former, which hee thought were more behouefull for those times. And *Henrie* the second a prince of much mildnesse and humanitie compiled another volume diuided into the laws of this Commonwealth & the statutes royall intituled. But in this point I referre my selfe with the reader, to the large & very learned Epistle of *S. Edward Coke* to those bookes of Lawcases by him lately compiled. And so much briefly touching the precise care and studies of former princes in ordeining & collecting the laws: the necessity wherof being so vulgarly knowen, needeth no confirmation by further example, considering how fresh it springeth in our memories (omitting the most sage & prudent prouisiō of that *Numa* of England king *Henry* the seuenth for the Commonwealth by good and politike institution & administration of lawes) that our late sacred soueraigne *Elizab.* (whose very name imprinteth a reuerend remembrance in my heart)

D instituted many diuine laws, by which the miraculous peace of this Commonwealth vnder the mercifull prouidence of God was amplified, conserued, & eternised. And here may not I with modestie passe or possouer his Maiesties royall prudence, knowledge, and high paines in compiling and publishing the lawes of Stotland imprinted in one volume; not doubting but that God of his great and inestimable loue to this nation vnder his blessed scepter also shall so worke by iustice in his princely spirit, that this realme may become in shorttime of a garden, wherein his highnesse found some weeds, a diuine paradise of most ciuill humanitie. This hath bene the great care which did formerly with

E such vehement force worke in the brains & hearts of al prudent kings & emperours, to make their people blessed & this (which amongst many more excellent vertues and honors attributed and ascribed formerly to *Augustus Caesar*) made him so great and eternall in the golden memorials of time so that for the correction and promulgation of lawes in his owne name, and for his sumptuous

and many buildings, it was truly and triumphantly spoken of himselfe, *Pr. F. bem laetificiam reperi, relinquo marmoream*. These were the bulwarkes which protected the peace and honour of his Empire: and those by which the superabounding tranquillitie of this Nation hath beene so long cherished and conserved;

It was recorded in the Romane Annals and memorials, as a notable happines in *Anthonius Pius*, that through his iustice, prudence, and fortitude, there arose not any warres amongst the Romanes for 23. yeeres together: which happeneth generally by the due distribution and execution of iustice and equitie. What then may be said in our Chronicles of that our late gracious and auspicious planet of Christendome Queene *Elizabeth*, whose beams G yet after the dissolution of her mortalitie so diuinely shine amongst vs, in those Lawes established and taught vnto vs whilst she raigned ouer vs; who (sawing some fewe moneths) doubled those yeeres of happinesse vpon her people in admirable honor, peace and plentie:

It is sooth, and well answereth to the lore of wisdom, that all policies States, or Common-weales are most corrupt, wherein there be many lawes established: forsomuch as it is presupposed that where multitudes of crimes and vices predominate of strange and diuers qualities, diuers vnusuall and H strange lawes are necessarily made to restraine them; or if they be preordained to correct or prohibit vices which are not & yet may happen, then it is as dangerous in regard of that exprest in this poetick sentence, *Gens humana ruit in vetitum nefas*: For *Adams* children naturally lust after the forbidden fruit. Not many Bookes which confound mens memorie with heapes of words and matter, but few substantiall and necessarie: referring all pettie things, not being nefarious, to the censure of venerable magistrates (which will not suffer a sparke to make a flame) and not to the written Letter of *Panall Lawes*; considering how the meane ministers and executioners of them which search out, inquire, and informe of such offences, doe commonly more preiudice then benefit and honestie to the Commonwealth: For wee know that by Gods I finger all the lawes both diuine and humane were within a paire of marble Tables comprised in a compendious Decalogue.

The reports and causes of our common-lawes and iudgements haue appeared in two points that the former Kings of this Realme, as king *Edward* the third, *Henrie* the fourth, *Henrie* the fift, *Henrie* the sixt, *Edward* the fourth, *Richard* the third, *Henry* the seuenth with prudent inspection found that necessitie, which required a luculent interpretation of the difficult points in our Common-lawes: wherevpon they by the faithfull conference of foure most reuerend and learned Iudges in the Lawes, following the sage example of that most wise and victorious Emperor *Iustinianus* before mentioned, did each of them in their seuerall raignes cause the genuine and very sence by K specious enucleation of all intricate or equiuocall points and cases to be cleared & explained; to the end that all other Iudges or Iustices which exceeded in administration of them, might at the first sight with commendable perspicuitie deliuer the faithfull substance of all, as occasion was offered for the peoples

A ples good; hauing digested them into nine Volumes of the Lawes, wherein the whole effence of all by those reuerend Law-fathers was most methodically couched. For as the difference of all creatures by nature proceedeth from vnitie, resembling many flowers sprouting from one roote: euen so doe sundrie needfull and most beneuolent Lawes receiue life and nature from the precious wisdom of God; the blessed and all-healing fountaine of whose knowledge he with ineffable grace and diuine beneficence openeth to them all that are studious of righteousnesse, and in tender loue with respect vnto man, being the choise operation of his handes doth retaine him by the due feare and loue of iustice and saluation, in eternall tranquillitie. The generall benefit calmedly and plentifully redounding from those Bookes, iudgements, reports and Law-cases by the enucleation of those learned law-men (as is before expressed) includeth the second point.

For so much as concerneth humane Lawes which are ordained by nature, and published by the prince (which by them gouerneth the Commonwealth to relieue and rectifie the same) they must be iust and possible, needfull and profitable, plaine, prescribed not to priuate but to publike vse and benefit, consenting with time and place, according to the nature and custome of the Countrey which should be moderated by them: such as are our statute-lawes of *England*. Vpon these thus ordained and provided against faultes, a knowledge shewing the difference of crimes and vices dependeth: As whether the nature of the consist in impietie by violation of the first table of Gods lawes through foolish prophanation, or derogation of or from his omnipotent power and maiestie; or if it be flagitious and repugnant to the second, importing impietie towards parents and magistrates, the defamation or contumelies of neighbours, the concupiscence and losse of liuelihoods and liues, wherevpon parricides and horrible slaughters are bred. Towards which legall office or ministerie, three speciall things generally would be required in a Iudge: the first of which is in his head to retaine a firme and venerable grauitie, confirmed in his countenance with some serious kinde of awfull maiestie, through his continuall meditation vpon the iust iudgements of God with the charge vpon him imposed; which by the diuine gift of heauenly iustice must be fostered in his heart, that all proceedings drawne from thence may be seasoned with the grauitie of his cogitations, which in excellent discretion will point out to him the time, person, and place, when, to whom, and where hee should shew iustice naked, or inuested with mercie. So that by the iustice of his heart, which ministreth wisdom and grauitie to his head; and by the seuer and precise prudence of his head, which inblazoned in a stedfast countenance a stout maiestie withall; and by the comely grace of his countenance which admirably shadoweth all in a decent austeritie, there may be due reuerence and feare drawne to the person of a Iudge on euery side about him; infusing horror to the malicious and wicked, with loue and reuerence to good and iust persons, hauing his tong so sanctified and seared with zealous praier, and with a liuely cole taken from the blessed Altar by the sacred Cherubine, that it may become th'oracle of Gods iustice, and the iust herauld of a sincere

heart. For if grautie should not appeare in all his iudgements, then shall he be suspected of a partiall & foolish lentitude: which opinion (when it is once vulgarly conceiued) will preiudice him either in his reputation, or in administration of the Lawes. This reputation or authoritie likewise is by the first three properties delineated to life; the restraint whereof will disadvantage him in his honour, which by such demeanor will be blemished with some misprizion or suspect of corruption. There is likewise in euery wise Iudge expedient a mature experience in sutes and variances, by defect whereof his ignorance deeply woundeth, or rather maimeth him. Lastly, the mindes constancie corroborateth him in the perfection of all, declaring that in the whole course of all his iudgements, iustice alone without priuate affection preuaileth. Neither is it meete but most vnfit, that any man should sit on throne of iudgement or giue sentence when his owne cause is heard or discussed: least affection vsurpe vpon, and defile the tongue of magistracie, least the reuerend custome of iudgement be violated, least that maiestie whereof I spoke (which is meete for the sage tribunall and court of equitie) be diminished, least a mischieuous example corrupting the people be drawne on with it, and finally least a contempt of the Lawes and equitie do succed it. Now somewhat concerning that abilitie which strengthneth Iudges, and iuridicall magistrats in the administration of publike causes.

It is therefore principally to be considered, that they (which sit vpon this honourable throne of iudgement, and take place, to giue place vnto the due distribution of right, and are firmly planted for the sure supplantation of those contagious vices, which being but a litle licenced would disperse and spread through all parts of the Common-weales most beautifull bodie, defiling it with a foule and virulent leprosie) stand deeply bound in a double recognisance of foule and bodie to be studious and industrious in the science and iudiciall practise of that wholesome physicke, which must be frequently ministred to the diseased members of that State: In which (their iudgements being credited) may be by the Prince allowed and iustified also: for if they do not yeeld euen law and execution of right to all subiects rich and poore, without hauing regard to any person, and without letting to doe right for any letters or commandement which may come to them from the prince or king, or from any other by any other cause, then are they by our Lawes thus censured worthily: Their bodies, lands and goods to rest at the kings pleasure, who shall otherwise giue iudgement or sentence of and against them. The King himself also which is head and iudge of the Lawes, sheweth great goodnesse & equitie through the world, in shewing his royall assent and contentment that these iudges substituted vnder him shall giue sentence according to the Cannon and true meaning of iustice, euen against himselfe directly, if he through negligence be driuen vniustly to maintaine any sute with a priuate person, which will not beare euen in the ballance of equitie; in which that kingly sentence is verified, that therein *differs a rege Tyrannus*: for nothing more then this doth to life expresse a true kings glorie. The kings of our nation to consume this perfect honor of a iust prince, in one act of Parliament ordained

Cap. 1. Anno reg.
regis Edw. 3. 15.

A ordained in the second yeere of king Edward the third, are limited: *That al. Cap. 8.*
though they commaund by their great, or priue seales to delay any cause in iudiciall
dependance proceeding by course of law; yet shall the iudges proceede with mature
expedition according to iustice, notwithstanding any precept from them directed. For

what can be said more to the disgracing and disrobing of any king, then that which *Freigius* in the latter end of his politicall questions citeth out of a certaine oration of *Scartaius* against tyrannie. *Tu iusticiam imperabis & interim tamen iniuriam alijs facies? in officium commendabis & ab officij religione deflectes?* As if he should say: Why wouldst thou be king to command men to deale iustly, giuing in proper person example of wrong done to others?

B How canst thou commend men for doing of their duties and offices, when thou thy selfe transgrestest thy functions and duties?

Thus if princes or iudges should preuaricat but a little, the their laws (which ought to be the iudges of euery iust prince) will restraine and reforme them. And if those lawes be dissonant to the spirit of charitie, truth and equities, the the diuine power & sapience of God (which are the very iudges of all laws, princes, & iudges on earth) wil correct & punish them with their ministers. Let therefore no partiall respect of power, neither priuate affection, nor vnexcusable ignorance of those laws which any iudge stewardeth, blemish his iudgments. For if he be partiall let him consider with himselfe that it proceedeth from affection or corruption which both are incorporate; & that it cannot be

C hidden from many men amongst infinite which behold and heare him from so conspicuous a place, where all mens eyes are fixed vpon his maiestie: and therefore (according to *Salust*) *aquos bonosque fauere debet ut eius benefacta reipub. procedant*, he must fauour men which are iust and good, that he may declare himselfe beneficent towards the Commonwealth. And if he be led by affection, let him consider how fallacious a passion it is, oftentimes opposite to reason euen in the men of honestest natures and constitutions, shewing a kind of charitie for the most part, where it falsifieth the vertue, pulling downe of a mountaine to raise a molehill; and to satisfie his affected, commonly to deiect and make ruinous such aduersaries which percase euen in a worse case

deserue much more affection. Lastly, but specially let him haue a speciall care to be skilfull in those lawes which he deliuereth and administred: for otherwise his honor is onerous and insupportable. For if he shall with all graue and profound prudence consider how chargeable and iust accompt will be required at his hands, that hauing much committed to his trust his accompts will arise to great summes, not of monies and pounds, but of men and people; the noblest worke of diuine nature, the creature in whom so soone as he was created the creator himselfe exceedingly reioyced, and tooke so great pleasure,

D that, when through his owne preuarication he was taken captiue to sinne, hell, and death, he ransomed him in the tender and vnspokeable loue of his holy spirit, in the most precious blood of his deare sonne Christ Iesus the righteous sacrifice of his vnrighteousnesse. If therefore he counterpoise in equall scales of diuine reason, the sacred allegiance in which he liueth spiritually bound vnto God; the faithfull obedience wherein he standeth bodily subie-

E cted

Eted to his prince; the zealous duetie which doth by nature inuite him to flu- F
 die the weale of his countrey, pondering theſe with his naked conſcience hee
 will not only reſuſe thoſe honors and dignities to ſit in iudgement vpon Gods
 beloued people vnworthily, or vnſkilfully, but rather will chooſe a death ac-
 companied with the languishing ſting of infinite tortures. Albeit as *Saluſt*
 thinketh. *Plerosque non ijsdem artibus imperiū petere & poſtquā adepti ſunt gere-*
re; primo industrios, ſupplices, modicos eſſe, dehinc per ignauiam & ſuperbiam
ararem agere: That many princes differ in their acquisition and gouernement
 of a kingdome: becauſe vpon the firſt they ſhew themſelues induſtrious ſup-
 pliant and temperate, afterward in ſloth, idleneſſe and pride paſſe their liues. G
 Euery king, iudge, and ruler of the people therefore, ought to ponder with
 himſelfe how great a part of the Commonweales hope dependeth vpon him,
 which he ſhould with his vertues and innocencie proteſt, whereas all other
 meanes are forceleſſe. Yea verely the iudge repreſenteth in himſelfe the perſon
 of that Commonwealth, where he miniſtreth: wherefore he ſhould ſuſtaine
 the ſtate and honor thereof by conſeruation and adminiſtration of iuſtice bea-
 ring in carefull remembrance, the truſt of thoſe things which are repoſed in
 him. A iudge is as it were an eye fixed in the kings ſcepter, a priet of diuine
 iuſtice and equitie, a moderator of the lawes, the life of righteouſneſſe, whoſe
 voyce is the pronouncer and preſeruer of life and death, a publike interpreter
 of the lawes; vnto whom as to a common ſanctuarie, all perſons oppreſſed with H
 dammages & iniuries repaire and refuge themſelues to be relieued in equity.
 And euen as iuſt iudgement is fitly defined to be the ballance of equitie, the
 voyce of lawes, and conſummation of all ſtrife and variance, ſo is the iudge
 properly called th'interpreter of thoſe lawes, the ſteward of equitie, and ora-
 cle of the Commonwealth.

They therefore that are fit and worthy to ſit vpon the throne of equitie,
 ought ſincerely to be good men, ſeuere, incorrupt, obdurate againſt flatterers,
 impatient of ſmooth tales, and ſecret detraction, vnmercifull to them that are
 remedileſſe, inexorable in waightie cauſes of iudgement, and ſuch as will I
 not tranſgreſſe the precincts of iuſtice in any caſe: for according to the diſcre-
 tion of *Aulus Gellius* they muſt diſtribute to the king and begger equall mea-
 ſure without inclination or paſſion towards any mans eſtate or perſon: as it
 was moſt diuinely ſhadowed in that miſticall order of the *Areopagites* being a
 counſell in *Athens*, conſiſting of ſixtie citizens which ſucceſſiueſly through all
 offices and degrees of honor at length attained place vpon the ſeate of iuſtice
 to deale in affaires of ſtate, and in tempeſtuouſ times to prouide that the
 Cōmonwealth ſhould endure no preiudice. Theſe in the darkeſt ſeaſon of the
 night would decide cauſes in iudgement, at ſuch time as they might heare and
 not ſee the parties appealed. Hence it is that *Cicero* ſaith, *Vir bonus ponit perſonā* K
amici cum induit iudicis: A good man layeth apart the perſon of a friend when
 he taketh vpon him the place of a iudge. And therefore iudges, as ſaith that
 moſt reuerend Emperour *Iuſtinianus* muſt ſacrifice pure and vncorrupt hands
 to God, to the king, and to the law: leaſt that curſe fall vpon them which our
 Sauour Chriſt denounced againſt the Pharifeſ; *Woe be to you interpreters of*
the

Lib. 10. ſep. 4.

offic. 3.

A *the Lawe, for you haue taken away the key of knowledge, you did not enter in your Lake s. selves; and them that would haue entered you forbad.*

Amongst other politicke Lawes in *Deuteronomie*, deliuered from Gods mouth to the sacred prince his seruant *Moses*, it was commanded that in all the partes of their people and nations assembled, Iudges should be constituted which might iustly iudge the people, poising the ballance of equitie with *even hand and bribelesse; for somuch as bribes bleare the sight of sage men, making contrseits the words of iust magistrates.* And hence was that prohibition either of acceptation or exception for or against any sorts of persons. It is a notable sentence left vnto Iudges by that most religious and honest king *Iosaphat* highly

B *worth the consideration; Looke vnto is you that are Iudges for you do not execute the lawes of men, but of God, and according to your innocencie & equitie so shall your iudgements be rewarded.* For these and such indifferent respects, Iustice is fitly resembled to the helme in a shippe which being misguided, endangereth the vessel, pilote, officers, and failers; representing the realme, prince, magistrates, and people.

Vpon this misrule, or misguidance of the Common-wealth by corrupt iudgement or iniquitie, whereupon the deuouring tempests of iniuries, contumelies, and deceits arise, Kingdomes (by Gods iust iudgement and indignation) are translated from one nation to another, roiall families extinguisht, and the prince with his people oftentimes subuerted, as is verily frequent vnto them that with diligence read histories in example.

I will now speake somewhat touching their administration of Iustice in ciuill matters, which is either declared in causes litigious brought before them, for the tryall of lands and goods; or in penall cases for transgressing Lawes in some one of the three parts of iustice which they violate: wherein the conscience of the Iudge with the causes of equitie, should make the true ballance of right. Penall cases for priuate transgressions be semblably referred in forme (though not altogether in substance) to the Iudges discret conscience. This onely should remaine euer greene in his memorie, that all iudgements in ciuill causes be well tempered with a mercifull benignitie, if the nature and qualities of the faults and delinquent permit. First therefore it is to be weighed,

D that all offences either respect the contumelies of persons comprehending iniuries, th'expende or losse of goods including damages; and offences or hurts done to people, including maymes and slaughters. Iniuries therefore are harmes proceeding from a voluntarie and malicious heart, thirsting or hunting after hurt of others. Damages include losse procured by the delinquent, either through vniust molestation by sutes vniustly commenced of any nature, where the innocent is impouerished; or by violent rapine, theft, or extortion. Offences and hurtes are of diuers natures, either by riots, affrayes, **E** conspiracies, or murders of themselves, as principals, or by subornate persons and assistants, as accessaries, acted, & executed. And herein is to be considered, that all maner of wrongs and iniustice, proceed either from election and will, perturbation and appetite, ignorance and vnderstanding, euen as in contrary those actions which are iust, are operations, or proceedings deriued from the

Bell. iugurth.

the fountaine or habite of iustice. For the iudgement of all iust and iniust actions rest in them according to that of *Salust*, *Quibus pro magnitudine imperij, ius & iniurias omnes curae esse decet*: To whose care (according to the limits of their Commission or circuit) all rights and wrongs are referred. Which right and wrong is twofold according to the Lawes, consisting vpon accusation and defension; which last depending vpon lawfull maintenance is thought by the Law-men to be more laudable then the other.

Prou. 14.

Luk. 1.

Exod. 25. & 36.

Chap. 12.

Prou. 11.

Offic. 3.

Salust. ad C. C. f.
de repub. ord.

Offic. 2.

These principles thus considered with the qualities of the persons and offences, the reuerend Iudge shall finde it engrauen with the true penne of diuine iudgement and reason in his owne conscience in what sort, to whom, and when to shew clemencie. Certaine it is, that mercy most graceth the person and mouth of a Iudge, if it be modiefied with good prudence, and grounded vpon a discret charitie: for he *that hath mercie is blessed* saith *Salomon*. And in the 19. Chapter of the same, the *Lord will exchange his mercie for his*; intimating also that he will haue mercie, and not sacrifice: Forasmuch as *his mercie reacheth from generation to generation of those that feare him*. If therefore Iudges will graciously consider the forme and glorious fashion of Gods mercie-seat (which besides many gorgeous and most specious ornaments, was by Gods speciall direction and commandement, compassed with a most precious crowne of finest gold) it shall be comfortably shewed vnto them how much he respected the throne of his mercie, which was many degrees exalted aboue his seat of iudgement. They should therefore shew mercie with cheerefulnesse, as *Saint Paul* counselleth the *Romanes*, *For he which watereth shall be refreshed with raine: according to Salomon, Nothing so much beautifieth the grauitie, person, and maiestie of a Iudge, as when his seuerer iustice is delayed with clemencie*. Which *Vulcanius Gallicus* calleth a kingly qualitie: and he which would conciliate peace, loue, and obedience amongst men, must gouerne with a languishing or unwilling hand to strike home, as grieuing or repining at the punishment. Hence is that saying of *Cicero*; *Nihil quod crudele vile: est enim hominum natura (quam maxime sequi debemus) maxime inimica crudelitatis*; Nothing cruell can be profitable: for the greatest enemy to nature (which we should especially follow) is crueltie. Such was that renowned and prudent Consull his speech (whom in other places I cited before) in one Oration to *Caius Caesar*: *Neque quisquam se ad crudeles penas aut acerba iudicia invocet, quibus ciuitas vastatur magis quam corrigitur; sed vt prauas artes, malasque libidines ab inuentute prohibeas*: Let no man prouoke thee to inflict cruell, or award ouer seuerer sentences, which rather confoundeth then correcteth any Commonwealth; but only to restraine Youth from wicked courses & lusts. Iudges therefore should so punish, *Vt metus absit, charitas retineatur*: To keepe out feare, & retaine loue. And therefore those Iudges & rulers of the people which pinch and gird them extreemly, sequestering or abrogating their liberties, with more then a competent seueritie stand themselves in most danger: for their hearts cannot be so lowly depressed but that they will finde a time to peepe vp againe. Whereupon *Cicero* most sagely censureth of that point, *Acriores sunt morsus intermissa libertatis quam reserata*. A libertie intermitted biteth neerer the bone

A bone then a restrained libertie. It behoueth them therfore in their iudgements to bridle their wrath: because men in rage for the time doe nothing, neither consider of any thing as is right. *Antoninus Pius* the Emperour vsed to say that *mercie was it which adopted Cæsar into fellowship of the gods, & onely mercie which consecrated Augustus amongst men.* Howbeit, I doe not in any case wrest vnto that excesse of lenitie, which the Phylosophers call *Lentitude*, being a vice of the minde which breedeth an exceeding securitie with dissolute manners and behauour in men. For he that vpon the former considerations would seuerely punish some vices in certaine persons, should not admit when times are dangerous a small fault to escape vnpunished; but prouide so that it may

B be with moderation and clemencie chastised, punishing nefarious and hainous crimes with due serueritie for examples. And so much concerning mercie by discreet mitigation of punishment. In other places, where seueritie should take force, as occasion shall offer.

It is not permitted that a Iudge should command and prohibite what he list himselfe without legall warrant, albeit it might rest in his arbitrament: yet whereas all articles cannot be seuerally comprised in the Lawes, and forsomuch as many circumstances breed doubts, in such cases men are referred to the conscience and religion of the Iudge, neerly to determine by course of iustice according to sinceritie: further scope then this is not permitted vnto

C any, being by that benefit freed from perill of punishment though he giue sentence against the Law: for the case not being thoroughly discussed yeeldeth him some colour for excuse; excepting alwayes in litigious cases that it resteth not in his power to giue away the goods proper of any man, beyond the limits of reason and equitie. That kinde of iustecyng which is said to bee common amongst the Turkes, is in my iudgement very tollerable and soone ended: for the Iudge closing his eyes giueth eare, pondereth, pronounceth, and dispatcheth the most part of causes very commendably, freeing and releasing the sutors from expence of time and monie: both which inconueniences happen vpon the proceffe of our Lawes in Christendome. For

D it had beene oftentimes better that he which hath iustice to guard his good cause, should in commencement thereof haue let his sute fall; then after a long and litigious dependance buy the iudgement of it with more chardge then the maine was worth, being onely referred to the credite of iust victorie for his meede. Moreouer by such dilatory meanes it often happeneth that white is died into blacke, either through deceit, corruption, or ignorance of the Iudge, and elsewhere by the rigor and false interpretation of the Lawes. Howbeit to noble minded men, which are able to forbear (if the sute proceede from misprision or some misconstruction, and not from any litigious humour of the aduersarie) I deeme it a principall tipe of their honours,

E and much auaylable (as *Cicero* saith) *Paulum nonnunquam de suo iure decedere.* Lib. offic. 2.

In administration of ciuill causes also, there is one most commendable part requisite in a iudge; that he withdraw his hands from the rewards of priuate or poore persons, which would gladly giue somewhat for fauour in their iust

and honest causes. For iudges of that nature are blinded with avarice whose fashion is to make a gaine of all causes both honest and dishonest: hence was it that iudges *lege Clodia* were prohibited to take any rewards of persons in suite. In speciall all such rewards and gratifications as are giuen either to further a good or a bad cause (sauiug the fees lawfully limited to the iudges and pleaders, in regard of their salaries and paines) are disallowable; and if any be tollerable then onely such as are taken by them of great princes which reward their paines in aduancement of iustice onely: For such as sell iustice and truth are abhominable, and so bethose also which take gifts of any man to further a faultie: for in that false participation if he further him, then doth he manifest violence to iustice; and if not, then doth he deceiue the briber of his money, both which are abiect and contemptible: these may well be called mercenarie iudges and corrupt hirelings.

Now somewhat so short as I can, concerning the knowledge and studies required in iudges & iudiciall magistrates. The due reuerence and feare of Gods omnipotent vertue which illuminateth his vnderstanding, perfecteth his wisdom, amplifieth his maiestic, refresheth his spirits, & corroborateth all his iudgements, must aboue all things before and after iudgement, and continually with a zealous and effectuall prayer from a soule blessedly breathing after spirituall consolation, be principally retained. And therefore it is written by *Moyses*, that *iudges should be men of courage, fearing God, dealing truely, loathing avarice*. And for this cause the Prophet *Dauid* calleth them Gods saying, that all the children of the most high doe right and iustice vnto the fatherlesse, poore, and needie. His ordinarie studies therfore for pleasure and ornament are best approued in the sweete concord of morall Philosophie which will enable and confirme him in his profession and conuersation: this teacheth him how iustice is a vertue yeelding *euery man what is his owne, and willing all men to discharge their duties*. *Cicero* calleth her the Queene and mistresse of all the other vertues; because she taketh perfection from the rest being as it were a concordance or harmonie of all the parts when appetite subiecteth it selfe to reason. It is also an affection of the mind iustecyng all men beneuolently, and cherishing humane societie; this is also called equitie which in euen ballance pondreth euery mans right answerable to desert and dignitie. *Aristotle* termeth it an affection of mind *enabling men to doe iustly which kinalerh in them a zeale or feruent desire of equitie*. It is according to *M. Bodine* a kind of Geometrie, which being disanulled *drowneth the concorde and societies of cities: it teacheth the difference betwixt honesties and their contraries, it pointeth out the extreames of good and euill, is directeth how to rule priuate families, it sheweth what auctorities and offices are proper to fathers, husbands, and masters, it declarerh the maintenance of a priuate state, it instructeth persons in the vertues and discipline of a magistrate, it describerh the forme of a Commonwealsh, it prescriberh the true meanes and knowledge to susteine cities which are in danger of subuersion, it denisferh excellent lawes and statutes to rectifie them; conclusiuely the surest and firmest foundations of Empire are good lawes moderating and measuring out all liberall sciences and good arts. Which good lawes (as *Freigius* calleth them)*

Exod. 18.

Psal. 82.

Lib. 5. Ethicoru.

Lib. 6. cap. 6.

A them) are the mistresses of vertue commanding people in their liuing to de-
meane themselves honestly and profitably with a restraint or prohibition of
things bad, and the contrary.

Iustice according to some learned moralists is knowen by these attributes
or qualities : first she will not challenge any thing which is not her owne ;
then she doth neglect her owne priuate lucre in respect if she may thereby fur-
ther the common equitie. There be sixe kindes of Iustice according to some
very learned philosophers, and they should seeme to be very certaine: one
iustice is legall, being a kind of voluntarie affection to doe and desire iust
things ; and by this legall iustice are men wholie bent and inclined for the be-
nefit of their contrey. The second a morall iustice which I prementioned out
B of th'imperiall institutions being a constant and perpetuall will, yeelding each
man his owne. The third a kind of exchanging or commutuell iustice keeping
a precise and religious equalitie of things amongst men. The fourth is a iustice
distributue by which euery man is out of the common charge of his contrey
rewarded and relieued according to demerite. The fifth is a coniunctiue
iustice, applicable to persons and causes tyed together in any termes of iustice.
And the sixt is disunctiue, alluding to causes and persons which are not by
any meanes of equitie compared or knit together.

This vertue principally respecteth the benefit of others more then her owne,
which as *Aristotle* saith is not so specious in her fellow vertues. According to
C *Valerius* and some other Philosophers, there are two parts of iustice : the first
obedience, which is generall, by which th'inferior offices of the soule are sub-
iected vnto reason being imployed in keeping a proportion amongst popular
societies, respecting the commonweale, & instructing persons in the reuerence
and loue of iustice and equitie: the second part is priuate, restoring right to all
men ; which is also twofold. One part thereof holdeth a simetrie in contracts
and negotiations amongst men; th'other being distributue imparteth rewards
proportionable to their demerites. And this distributue part of iustice is cal-
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Therefore against true religion, I plant hypocritall superstition, with precise curiositie, being the vaine & vnprofitable seruice of God, fashioned after the newfangled humors and schismaticall fancies of nice Greene heads: From whence floweth that detestable plague, impious prophanation of Gods sacred power, contempt or disestimation of others and religion, the blasphemies of damned persons, Epicures and Athiests, which deeply roote impietie, sacriledge, infidelitie, and periurie.

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Immanitie with lenitie combat against iust vindication, specified in these two properties: when the correction is greater then the fault, and therefore is the Prouerbe, *Cupido & irasissimi sunt consultores*: Lust and wrath are the worst counsellors: and specially wrath is to be vehemently suppressed in a Iudge, least he staine his hands in innocent blood, which is a thing so odious in the sight of God and man, as nothing can be more abominable: Hence was that saying of the noble morall Tragedian; *Iudex futuris sanguine humano abstine*: If thou wilt be a Iudge, abstaine from humane blood.
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Senec. in Herc. foren.

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and honest causes. For iudges of that nature are blinded with avarice whose fashion is to make a gaine of all causes both honest and dishonest: hence was it that iudges *lege Clodia* were prohibited to take any rewards of persons in suite. In speciall all such rewards and gratifications as are giuen either to further a good or a bad cause (sauing the fees lawfully limited to the iudges and pleaders, in regard of their salaries and paines) are disallowable; and if any be tollerable then onely such as are taken by them of great princes which reward their paines in aduancement of iustice onely: For such as sell iustice and truth are abhominable, and so bethose also which take gifts of any man to further a faultie: for in that false participation if he further him, then doth he manifest violence to iustice; and if not, then doth he deceiue the briber of his money, both which are abiect and contemptible: these may well be called mercenarie iudges and corrupt hirelings.

Now somewhat so short as I can, concerning the knowledge and studies required in iudges & iudiciall magistrates. The due reuerence and feare of Gods omnipotent vertue which illuminateth his vnderstanding, perfecteth his wisdom, amplifieth his maiestic, refresheth his spirits, & corroborateth all his iudgements, must aboue all things before and after iudgement, and continually with a zealous and effectuell prayer from a soule blessedly breathing after spirituall consolation, be principally retained. And therefore it is written by *Moyses*, that iudges should be men of courage, fearing God, dealing truly, loathing avarice. And for this cause the Prophet *Dauid* calleth them Gods saying, that all the children of the most high doe right and iustice vnto the fatherlesse, poore, and needie. His ordinarie studies therfore for pleasure and ornament are best approued in the sweete concord of morall Philosophie which will enable and confirme him in his profession and conuersation: this teacheth him how iustice is a vertue yeelding euery man what is his owne, and willing all men to discharge their dueties. *Cicero* calleth her the Queene and mistresse of all the other vertues; because she taketh perfection from the rest being as it were a concordance or harmonie of all the parts when appetite subiecteth it selfe to reason. It is also an affection of the mind iustecyng all men beniuolently, and cherishing humane societie; this is also called equitie which in euen ballance pondreth euery mans right answerable to desert and dignitie. *Aristotle* termeth it an affection of mind enabling men to doe iustly which kinaleth in them a zeale or feruent desire of equitie. It is according to *M. Bodine* a kind of Geometrie, which being disanulled drowneeth the concorde and societies of cities: it teacheth the difference betwixt honesties and their contraries, it pointeth out the extremes of good and euill, it directeth how to rule priuate families, it sheweth what authorities and offices are proper to fathers, husbands, and masters, it declareth the maintenance of a priuate state, it instructeth persons in the vertues and discipline of a magistrate, it describeth the forme of a Commonwealth, it prescribeth the true meanes and knowledge to susteine cities which are in danger of subuersion, it deniseth excellent lawes and statutes to rectifie them; conclusiuely the surest and firmest foundations of Empire are good lawes moderating and measuring out all liberall sciences and good arts. Which good lawes (as *Freigius* calleth them)

Exod. 18.

Psal. 82.

Lib. 5. Ethicorū.

Lib. 6. cap. 6.

A them) are the mistresses of vertue commanding people in their liuing to demean themselves honestly and profitably with a restraint or prohibition of things bad, and the contrary.

Iustice according to some learned moralists is known by these attributes or qualities : first she will not challenge any thing which is not her owne ; then she doth neglect her owne priuate lucre in respect if she may thereby further the common equitie. There be sixe kindes of Iustice according to some very learned philosophers, and they should seeme to be very certaine: one iustice is legall, being a kind of voluntarie affection to doe and desire iust things ; and by this legall iustice are men wholie bent and inclined for the benefit of their contrey. The second a morall iustice which I prementioned out of th'imperiall institutions being a constant and perpetuall will, yeelding each man his owne. The third a kind of exchanging or commutuall iustice keeping a precise and religious equalitie of things amongst men. The fourth is a iustice distributiue by which euery man is out of the common charge of his contrey rewarded and relieued according to demerite. The fifth is a coniunctiue iustice, appliable to persons and causes tyed together in any termes of iustice. And the sixt is disiunctiue, alluding to causes and persons which are not by any meanes of equitie compared or knit together.

B This vertue principally respecteth the benefit of others more then her owne, which as *Aristotle* saith is not so specious in her fellow vertues. According to *Valerius* and some other Philosophers, there are two parts of iustice : the first obedience, which is generall, by which th'inferior offices of the soule are subiected vnto reason being employed in keeping a proportion amongst popular societies, respecting the commonweale, & instructing persons in the reuerence and loue of iustice and equitie : the second part is priuate, restoring right to all men ; which is also twofold. One part thereof holdeth a simetrie in contracts and negotiations amongst men ; th'other being distributiue imparteth rewards proportionable to their demerites. And this distributiue part of iustice is called equalitie being the companion of peace and concord : *Quæ in tribuendis honoribus & rerû inter ciues communium aqua diuisione seruatur*: Which equalitie is kept in distribution of honors, and in equall diuision of things amongst citizens & countrimen, &c. *Cicero* defineth the law which is deriued from iustice to be reason graffed in humane nature : vnto this all lawes and institutions, customes, edicts, estatutes (which further the conseruation of Commonwealths) haue reference : And in obseruation and violation of them iustice & iniustice are opened. There is no diuersitie betwixt law and vertue, sauing that vertue by words and promises benignely perswadeth whereas law commaundeth, compelleth, and inhibiteth. The distributiue part of priuate iustice cheefely concerneth magistrates, consisting in rewards, punishments, iust gouernement, teaching all sorts of people to know their offices, places, dignities and degrees in the Commonweales, to take good notice of themselves without ostentation or insolence. This vertue Philosophers conferre with geometrie because it is vniforme. Iniustice is either generall or particular : that (which I terme generall and illegitimate) is a kind of habite of the

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 seemeth commonly to be bent against noble Gentlemen, of greatest respect,
 honest, innocent, and vnconuicted: these being brought vnto the pits brinck,
 are many times charged and surcharged with treasonable or nefarious accu-
 sations, wherein they perish; as *Petro de Vincis*, *Aluaro de Luna*, *Giacobo Corde*,
Christophoro Colombo, *Philip de Comynes*, with other very wise and honourable
 Counsellors, euen of our fathers times and of our memories, which did in
 such cases miscary: neither is it safe or behooffull that I particularize. This
 is a kinde of iniustice and close malice, necessarily to be sifted being wholly
 composed of diabolicall wilynesse. Wherefore they cannot be very noble,
 that foster in their rancorous hearts such maliciousnesse: and if there rest in G
 any heroycall spirits, the least spiracle which should seeme to taste of that con-
 tagious humour it is emulation onely: for we finde in *Cicero*, that *Nobiles si
 virtute valent magis amuli quam inuidi bonorum sunt*: Noble men which are pos-
 sessed of vertue, doe rather emulate then maligne good men. And albeit this
 vice of emulation resteth amongst Nobles & Paladynes which is most glori-
 ous being applied to vertuous and honourable purposes, as in contending to
 become most iust, valiant, temperate, learned, actiue, or excellent in any such
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 and better properties should seeme most vnnaturall, base, and brutish: and
 therefore elegantly *Cicero* citing the same out of *Crisippus* resembleth them, to H
 such as runne together in one race for a wager, in these wordes; *Qui stadium
 currit eniti & contendere debet quam maxime possit ut vincat: supplantare eum
 quocum certat aut cubito deppellere nullo modo debet. Sic in vita sibi quemque pe-
 zere quod pertineat ad usum non iniquum est; deripere ius non est*. Hee that run-
 neth a race, ought to worke and contend with all possible meanes to winne
 the wager: hee may not in any case supplant him with whom he contendeth,
 or strike him backe with his elbow. Semblably, that is not vsfit which a man
 necessarily craueth for the sustinance or support of his life, but forceably to
 take away from men that which is theirs, is meere iniquitie.

There is a Lesson which *Cicero* vehemently moueth and vrgeth, and in I
 this case fit to be considered vpon, by learned and graue Iudges; not to sum-
 mon, or appeale any man in causes criminall; if he finde in his heart the par-
 ties innocencie so slandered or indited: because it cannot bee done without
 great charge and torture of conscience. For what can be found more rigorous
 and vnnearly then to peruert that eloquence (which God, with nature hath
 giuen for the comfort and conseruation of men) vnto the shame and ruine of
 honest persons: Which charitable equabilitie hath bin obserued in some wor-
 thy Law-fathers of this land: and amongst others manie times in one princi-
 pall minister of his Maiesties pleadings of whom vnnamed, I may speake a K
 truth without adulation, that it hath seemed doubtfull to wife-men, whether
 he were in *Probarum defensionibus*, quam in *sceleratorum accusationibus*
magis acer: more vehement in his Apologies for good and honest men
 in their good causes, or earnest in his inuectiues or informations against nefari-
 ous and wicked persons. For such ought to be the care of iust Iudges as *Cice-*

A ro writeth, *Vt iuris & iudiciorum equitate suum quisque teneat*: That through the equitie of iustice and iudgement, euery man may retaine his right.

I speake this as a necessarie caueat or monition against calunnies and enuy, which hath bene the deuouring caterpillar of so many vertuous and gallant princes and Common wealthes men, that haue thereby perished, because that restlesse hagge malice commonly doth more mischiefe then fortune: and therefore if men which are set vpon the stage of honour and reputation can finde out a soueraigne preferuatiue against her venime; then doe they shew great wisdome possessing this world in quiet. For sure it is that *Vinos interdum fortuna, saepe inuidia fatigat*. Fortune some times toyleth liuing creatures, but enuy

B vexeth them often.

Gratitude being another branch of iustice is vngraciously wounded with vnthankfulnesse: nothing vaniseth sooner then the remembrance of benefites receiued; for if you multiply them, they shall be retributed and retribled to you with infinite malefices, considering that he which neither hath heart nor facultie to requite commonly forgetteth or vnderualueth your munificence; disdayning in himselfe the very remembrance of that necessitie, which being either with your mercie mitigated or delayed in case of iustice, or by your charitie supplied in compassion of his pouerty, should haue enioyned him to thankfull requitall for such a benefit, which people commonly so

*Fr. Guic. Italia.
in vita Alex. 6.
pont.*

C soone forget as taste. This haue I found by good experience both in particular, and by some priuate respects of my selfe and others most neere vnto me; not doubting but that it is a vulgar prooffe, wherein this worlds aged malignitie through diuelish continuance hath increased it from a wily serpent to a subtile, malicious, and murdering old dragon; like that which is spoken of, in the Reuelation of the blessed Euangelist *John*, being now set free from fetters towards the last times; and amongst wise men so detestable and odious, that by their often repetion it became a prouerbe generally deliuered, *if you call me vnthankfull, call me what you will*: for nothing can be more disgracefull or infamous. And as it is vsed to men of that vnthankfull nature, an vnthankfull dogge: for as it is odious in a dogge, a snake, or any wild beast, which is cherished or fedde at your table, to bite or maligne their fosterers, which is a thing very rarely to be scene: how much more lothesome and contemptible is it in a man to whom God hath giuen heart and reason of gratification.

Mercie confounded is with hardnesse of heart, vncharitablenesse, vnconscionable actions, strangenesse amongst brethren and societies, being both pernicious to the soule of people, and contagious to the peace and vnions of all ciuill states and policies.

E Liberality perisheth in these extremities, in avarice which cannot endure the thought of giuing: and in prodigalitie disabling the power thereof. These are guarded with infinite vices, of which two mischietes, prodigalitie more helpeth in repaying many, whereas couetousnesse will not relieue any.

Vaine ostentation being vndecently slubbered vp, and neighbouring avarice, is opposite to magnificence: there is likewise a proud immoderate and vnseasonable kinde of riotous magnificence accompanied with excesse: the dangers

daungers, of both are much like to the perils issuing from the extreames of F liberalitie: but of avarice, ostentation & prodigalitie, I haue more at large spoken in the morales of my first booke of offices.

Friendship being the nauell or vp-shot of all iustice, *Etiam & habitus vere & perfectè diligendi alterum propter similitudinem morum*: Which is a habite of perfect and true loue betwixt men, resembling one another in conditions and manners by naturall sympathie, shall take place in the bottome, base and groundworke of the rest, and it is thwarted with enmity which worketh in mens hearts crueltie with hatred; whereupon parricides and homicides ingender. It is a common saying, that such a man hath betrayed or deceiued G his friend; because the practise and example seemeth very frequent amongst vs in this age, according to that saying of *Salust*, *Per maximam amicitiam maxima est fallendi copia*; that where greatest friendship harboreth, there hath deceit most power and force to practise; but I am not of that opinion how true friendship (if it be mutuall and reciprocall) hath any port which can open vnto the heart that could entertaine falshood against friends: considering that true friendship is naked, pure and immaculate according to the, definition before expressed. Howbeit there is a similitude of wicked natures, which combineth men in a kinde of fraternitie which me seemeth may not be called so properly friendship, being brethren in euill sacramentally tyed, and periuriously vntyed at pleasure, to succour, loue, deceiue and betray one another. This in like opposition with the former is the very seede of all disunion and iniustice. From hence distractions, seditions, factions, oppressions, and diuers sutes arise which neuer haue end nor will, but by conspiracies; vpon which the prince is many times forced to staine his hands with blood, or to loose his soueraignetic. Many men neglect this, not looking into the danger which daily stealeth out of it: and yet it is easily found, if they consider *how the seed-time of each yeere presents occasioneth the next yeeres harvest*; ministring store of matter to gorge vp the couetous bags of some ambitious Lawmen, Aduocats I and Attorneys. Now somewhat concerning that abilitie which strengtheneth iudges and iuridicall magistrates in th'administation of publike affaires.

To the perfection of knowledge herein it is right behoouefull that they which iudge, be foundly read and practised in all the lawes Ciuill, Cannon, and prouinciall consenting with the lawes of those nations where men liue, and also the lawes of all neighbouring Commonweales politickely gouerned, whether they be Christian or pagane, conferring them with the ground of all good laws deliuered first by God to the sacred prince *Moyse* his seruant in the decalogue: as also that he studiously peruse all the bookes of *Moyse*, wherein the politicke statutes and ordinances deriued from the fountaine of his vnferchable wisdom are touched; as in the bookes of *Exodus*, *Detronomie*, K *Numbers*; likewise in the *Iudges* and *Kings*. Nay let him peruse the whole volumes of the new Testament; wherein he shall find the true formes and treasure of all good lawes and iudgements. Likewise let him conuerse with the lawes of the ancient Egyptians which (as *Diodorus* recordeth them) are like in nature to these our Brittain lawes; from whence together with the secret mysteries

A steries of their gods, those ordinances were by *Orpheus* translated into Greece : also the Troiane and Greeke laws, from whence our Nation (as I before declared) did receiue their first orders of gouernment : the lawes of Saxons and Danes when they did inhabite vs; conferring them seuerally together, & pondering which neereſt cohere in precepts & vniformitie with the sacred Decalogue.

It is also most commendable, and would adde infinite riches to his iudgement, if he can by diligent reading attaine the Lawes of all principall States and Kingdomes in this age established: as in Spaine, France, Portugall, the free States of Italie, the Empire of Germany, the Cantons of Swizzer-land, the

B Kingdomes of Poleland, Hungaria, Prussia, Moscowa, with such like: most of which although they be gouerned by the lawes imperiall, haue not withstanding Edicts, & customarie prescriptions retaining legall force, which are most fit and worthy to be knowne. Also the Lawes of the Turkes, of the Persians, and of any strange heathens in the world, which are partakers and be gouerned by rule of reason.

This Science with the riches of that knowledge, which may be gotten by the same together with the iudicious conference of one with another, I cannot sufficiently declare nor commend: neither, if it were possible for a man, all other means being wanting therunto to liue vntill he had visited those

C nations, and had sojourned in each particular countrey, till he were acquainted with their seuerall Lawes and orders, could his paines answere the least part of benefit which that knowledge will dispense.

In publicke iudgements (which according to th'imperiall Institutions are so called, because the execution of them is referred to any of the people) it much importeth him to be very skilfull, cōferring them to the benefit of his priuate iudgement with the publicke iudgements, as in cases criminall of his owne nation. Of these some being capitall and the rest not capitall: those which are, doe punish with death or perpetuall exile; as it was called by the Romans, *interdiction from fire and water*, by which was intended an exclusi-

D on from all other benefit, or comfort of his native Countrey. Such were those *Americani* as *Freigius* defineth; being persons cast out, or banished from all ciuill societie: and they were called *deportati* or *relegati*, by the Romans, to whom was this *interdiction of fire and water*, or the prescription and abdication of people. Other iudgements ypon defamation proceed with pecuniary mulct, which are also publicke and not capitall.

Quest. politic.

Howbeit publicke iudgements principally proceed in matters of maiestic, touching traytors against the King or Common-wealth, punished with loss of life, and extirpation of their remembrance after their death in attaint of blood, and destruction of their houses which should be demoli-

Ad legem Tul. maiestatis.

E shed. All criminall causes according to the forme of our Lawes, are either treasons or felonies; and those courts in England which are ordained for tryall of them stand appcaled for such crimes, are the *Kings bench*, or *Gaole deliueries*. Which iudgements are through all Counties of this Realme, once each

yeere at the least (and in some oftner) according to the greatnesse of the thire, and of that necessitie which may happen vpon the manifold offences, tryable where the factes were committed, if it bee not otherwise determined by the Kings priuie Counsell. F

Treasons according to the lawes of our Nation are crymes of such heinous nature, as either concerne the Prince in his life or State. As when a man compasseth or imagineth the Kings, the Queenes, or their eldest son his death; the violation or constupration of the Queene, or of the kings eldest daughter vnmarried, or of the Prince his wife: the leuying of war against the King, in his Realme, or abroad; the counterfeiting of his great or priuy Seale, or of his monies; th'importation of false money counterfeit to the stampe of his Realmes, and knowing it to be false: to kill the Chancellor, Treasurer, or Iudges of the Kings bench, or of the common plects, or the Iustices in Eire, the Iustices of assise, or any Iustices of Oyer, & derminer, doing their offices: there is another petit treason when a seruant slayeth his Master, and a wife her husband; a man secular or religious, any Prelate to whom he oweth faith and obedience. Moreouer if any thing should happen vnnamed, respite must bee graunted till by Parliament it be adiudged and ordayned treason or felonie. G

*Edw. 3. An. 25.
cap. 2.*

*Ad leg. Pompei.
de Parricidijs.*

Parricides, such as kill their parents openly or closely, and such as are either accessaries or abettours, punished with extreame torture of death, according to th'imperiall Lawes. Howbeit, such as kill their kinsfolke or allies, vndergoe the law prouided against murderers. H

*Ad leg. Iul. de
de Sycarijs.*

*Ad leg. Iul. de
F. priuatis.*

Felonies are of diuers natures, including any capitall iniustice, as in life, or liuing towards diuers persons: of which, some be murderers; others in theft and robberies; and some in deceit appendant to that nature; but in a more venemous degree. Murderers therefore, which with artificiall instruments, poysons, or forceries take away the liues of people, according to th'imperiall lawes are punished with death. Theeues secretly stealing and purloyning publicke treasure, or sacrilegious persons: yea, Iudges themselves if hauing charge of any common treasure they should imbezill the same; with all assistants, receptors, and abettors are condemnable to death. Other thefts not of such heinous condition are satisfied with exile. The rapes of widowes, wiues, or virgines are comprehended herein by the same punishment. I

*Ad leg. Corneli.
de falsis.*

Falsifying or counterfeiting of written Chartiers, Euidences, Records, Leafes, or counterfeiting of seales, with such like of the same nature punished with death.

*Ad leg. Iul.
peculatus.*

Publicke violence which is done with weapon, or artificiall instrument; finable to the the third part of his goods which offendeth.

*Ad leg. Iul.
de vi publica.*

Petrie thefts sometimes with losse of life, and in certaine cases with lighter punishment, at the Iudges discretion. K

The lawes of ambition, of requiring a restitution of goods taken away, with those that concerne victuall; &c. are all handled in the publicke iudgements, exprest in th'imperiall Institutions. For as much as concerneth the studies and readie knowledge of our owne Lawes, I haue sufficiently spoken before.

In

A In iudgements criminall, generally requiring the deepest and soundest discretion of Iudges, there is one question which I haue heard controuerted: Whether in them it be better and more expedient to shew mercie then rigor: but it is by the stronger part of opinions confirmed, that in the gouernment of a multitude (where the crimes are treasonable or infectious) seuerer punishment much more auaieth then lenitie. Which *Tacitus* no lesse sagely (though liuing in a tyrannous Empire) doth confirme. Yet forsomuch as it is no part of my profession (but in somewhat impertinent) to declare the substance of all these causes criminall according to their natures; I will pretermit and handle only such things, as are required of a Iudge in his general decision or execution of them.

B Punishments therefore are either frequent, or rare: mitigate punishments of multitudes together with frequent practise of them. And he which hastily proceedeth to sentence of condemnation, will be generally said and condemned to haue done it willingly. If occasion so require, that for a generall good and quiet, a multitude must vndergoe punishment; make specious demonstration, that it is onely done to preuent further offence, and not in regard of the fault: shew neither wrath nor gladnesse in punishing; inflict not any strange or extreame punishments: for they be dangerous, & the Iudges which punish after new fashions are vndoubtedly cruell. Be not partiall in punishing, as in dealing more seuerely with some, then with others whose

C faults are of equall qualitie. Neither be present spectators at the execution of malefactors: which violent & irous appearance, hath drowned many princes in the blood of their Tyrannie. And whereas it doth happen frequently, that many persons and some of the best estate and qualitie, cannot be punished with death, but with the great danger and hatred of the Iudge, which he should wholly neglect, honourably respecting the person of veritie, represented in himselfe; it is required, that in heinous causes all the heads be cut off together, and that not leasurely one by one: For often reiteration of blood giueth suspicion of mercilesse truculencie, stirring malice in many men and pleasing few: onely the due respect of seueritie bent against them (whose

D pardons are full of perill) presently washing out the note or malice of that seueritie, with remission and indulgence of other offenders, whose crimes being of a more humble nature, include not much danger in them. Hauing and retaining alwayes a precise respect of the natures and qualities of the persons offending, and of their offences: according with that rule in *Salust*, *Vos sceleratissimis hominibus quia ciues sunt ignoscere a quo animo paterer mihi misere-*

Bell. Iugurth.

E *recordia in perniciem casura esset:* I could be contented that great offenders should be pardoned, were it not that such mercie would turne to mischief. Onely this should be regarded, that amongst many persons combined in offence a few of the principals be cut off. *Necem etenim paucorum aut unius hominis calamitati publica maiores nostri semper anteponendam esse putauerunt:* Our fathers alwayes thought it expedient to preferre the death of some few persons, or of one man; rather then to permit a generall calamitie by the effusion of much blood. It hath been anciently customed (but I will not prescribe such dangerous

Portus Latro in Caes.

rous phisicke) to wash away the enuie of blood-shed, with shedding the blood F
of certaine vile persons, as sacrifices piacular against publike hatred (as I noted in my first booke) by the example of *Sir Richard Emson*, and Master *Dudley*, in the second yeere of King *Henry* the eight. To great offences therefore either presumptuously, or bloodily committed by great persons of note, apply notable and exemplary punishments; that meaner folke in beholding their executions, may be discouraged from the like attempts. Which rule hath beene narrowly kept by that right noble, reuerende and politicke Iudge, *Sir John Popham*, by whose iustice and seuerer integritie (thunder-blasting desperate offences) many grievous and contagious malefactors haue been oftentimes repressed. If therefore a mans life inlist vpon it, let him not feare to giue C
sentence according to conscionable euidence and equitie: whereas he shall finde it euident and fit, that by so iudging, iustice is not scandalized.

Moreover, it must not appeare to be done either in priuate, as by corrupt bribes, violently to diuert the current of iustice out of his true channel, or any malice or enuie to parties, which is a kinde of disease of the minde, which greuouly repineth at the good successe or qualities of others. And many men wil sooner pardon the slaughter of their parents, then the losse of their liuings vniustly. Seueritie therefore in necessarie punishments, addeth a maiestie to the magistrate: for otherwise it happeneth oftentimes, that the Prince may rebuke his foolish lenitude, in such termes as were objected by *Quintus H Fab. Maximus* in the Romane Senate against *Scipio*, whose souldiours through his exceeding licence and lenitie reuolted from him; that he should haue corrupted the state of ciuill gouernment, as *Scipio* did the Romane militarie discipline: vpon which reprehension, *Scipio* reformed himselfe with great reputation; whereas in regard of his former mildnesse, the first examples of his seueritie were not imputed to his owne nature. It is not meant here by the example of *Draco*, who did write all his lawes in blood for the *Athenians*, to punish euery small offence with death: but such as are either traiterous and sedicious paricides, homicides, or others of like condition according to the qualities of their offences. There is a kinde of grace and mercie declared in executing or interpreting the very Letter of the Law precisely: which I referre in the religion thereof vnto the Iudges conscience, as by a common and familiar example. I

Zaluchus (hauing made a Law to the *Locrensians*, that any persons of that common-wealth, if they were taken in adulterie, should loose both their eyes) was forced to giue sentence against his owne sonne, which stood in that case appealed before him: & notwithstanding that earnest intercession made by the people for his pardon; yet in satisfaction of the Law, he caused one of his owne and another of his sonnes eyes to be done out. In what ought a K
Iudge to declare more constant veritie, then in iuridicall sentences? in what more zeale then in execution of the Lawes? in what place more maiestie then on the venerable throne of iustice?

I will confirme this with a familiar example of common record in our English Chronicles. *Henrie* of *Monmouth* sonne to king *Henrie* the fourth (who did

- A did afterwards succcede his father) rushed vnto the Kings Bench (the Lord chiefe Iustice of England sitting in iudgement vpon life and death of one of that princes seruants, then in case of felonie brought vnto the bar before him) and with his sword drawn made offer to rescue the prisoner without further triall: the people astonished at such vnusuall behauiour, were afraid. The iudge himselfe, or rather Gods spirit directing, wisely weighing his owne condition, and looking into trueth and authoritie, banisheth all suddaine feare, and stoutly with a reuerend maiestie rebuketh the prince in this sort. Come hether furious yongman, wound this old carcase with thy sword wherewith thou menacest me; strike, strike I say, rather will I die then endure such example. This place which thou doest violare is thy fathers tribunall, the iudge whō thou threatnest representeth thy father, the law which thou contemnest, adiudgeth thee guiltie for it; and without any respect that thou art sonne to the king, on behalfe of thy father, and being assisted and supported with the Commonweales authoritie, I doe commit thee to prison. At which reuerend and constant iudgement of the magistrate, the prince abashed presently let fall his sword, and willingly submitted himselfe to prison. The king vpon this tragæcomedie reported, burst with teares into these speeches: happie am I in so iust & sincere a iudge, & in so good and obedient a sonne. Which gallant prince succeeding his father in the gouernement so much esteemed of that iudge, as (when he departed England with his forces towards France for that conquest which he there purchased) he committed the tuition and gouernement of his whole realme, during that his absence to him: the historie is true though common, and yet not so vulgar as notable.
- C

Sedition and malice being two pestilent and contagious diseases in a Commonwealth should be seuerely punished in the beginnings without remission, yet with such discretion handled, as it might seeme rather to proceede from a mind very loath, and grieuing to punish, but that constraint and the common cause enforceth it. Howbeit, somewhat must alwayes be done for examples sake considering the sentence, *Pœnarum fructus omnium maximus persinet ad exemplum.* The most fruit and profit which issueth from punishments groweth vpon example.

- D
- There is great daunger in ministring a more vehement medecine, then either the nature or strength of the disease or diseased doth require. Applie not any corrosiues but vpon extremities and causes otherwise remediesse. He which hatcheth vengeance in his heart, may not punish hastily but expect a fit occasion for his owne satisfaction, which will vndoubtedly fall without any combustion, note, or imputation of reuenge. Those iudges therefore I deeme wel worthie commendation, which seldome vsing seueritie can attaine
- E and keepe the name of terrible magistrates: for by much exercise of bloodie iustice as I said before, more harme then good ensueth to the prince; for not onely the persons fauourers of the parties punished, but the peoples hearts in generall will storme at it: and admit you can remoue some of the first which stirre in it; yet in a case of crueltie the peoples indignation may fitly be compared to wild-fire, which being once kindled will encrease and burne more

off. 3.

vehemently. If therefore a Iudge extend seueritie, let it be manifested especially, when matters of blood and violation of humane charitie requireth it: when violence vpon impious passion or perturbation of the minde, to satiffie priuate malice is exercised vpon persons; which no man being moderated by the Law of nature will commit: as *Cicero* writeth; *hominem natura obediensem homini nocere non posse*: That not any man which is obedient to nature will hurt another man. Neither can any thing expresse the prudence of a magistrate more to life, then the iust conseruation and maintenance of a mans life; nothing decipher his crueltie more, then slaughter and effusion of blood. How odious is the very name of homicide, by whose violence man which is the goodliest artifice of nature is dissolued: Nothing therefore should in a ciuill societie be more seuerely sifted, nothing feele more extreame punishment then murtherers. A iust Iudge therefore sitting in iudgement vpon homicides, should in his right hand hold a Iasper stone, to stanch the blood of innocents; & in the left a sword to strike bloody murtherers and slaughterers: so that the sword be not more forcible then the stone, least his wrath conquer clemencie when he reuengeth blood.

Next vnto murther is that vlcereous and vnfatiable wolfe vsurie, which like a cancor consumeth the flesh and bones of Prince and people. It is the extreamest stinking plague of any common-wealth. And hence was it, that *Marcus Cato* said, *How murther and vsurie were correlatiue*. Which leprous botch (for I cannot giue it a terme bad enough) the Romans punished more seuerely then felonie. And *Salust* likewise aduising *Cesar* in one of his Orations saith; *Tollendus fenerator ut suas quisque res curemus*: Vsurers must be banished, that every man may the better follow his priuate businesse. Intimating those lets and obstacles which happen to the common-wealth; where diuers principall persons are consumed and eaten vp with vsurie. Saying moreover, that all things would haue good successe in the common-wealth, *Sipecunia (qua maxima omnium pernicies est) usum atque dedecus dempseris*: If he would so practise, that the vsc and disgrace of selling and lending of money (which he termeth the greatest of all harmes) may be taken away.

Ad. Caf. de rep. ordinanda.

Lib. 1. tit. 8.

There yet remaineth one principall respect and consideration for Magistrates and Iudges, which specially concerneth the common-wealth: to take such carefull heed and circumspection as may be, that all men and persons, yong and old, of all trades and professions in all townes and cities, doe follow with diligence and commendable industrie their seuerall functions and vocations, which is the readiest meane both to magnifie and amplifie the common-wealth. And therefore *Francis Patricius*, in his booke *De institutione reipub.* writeth that they should *Orj magis quam negotij rationem exigere*: To take more precise account of idle fellowes then of labourers: which those naked *Gymnosophists* that liued in *India*, did with all industrie; for they were of opinion that nothing could be more odious in any societies, states, or Cities, then sloath and idleness. For the *Gymnosophists* did alwayes before meat examine their youth, how they had imployed that part of the day, and onely permitted such to receiue meate whose exercises they did approue, thrusting such

A such out of doores as had been found idle or loyterers, that they might seeke their food by labour, where they could gaine it.

Hence was that law amongst the Egyptians which *Diodorus* mentioneth Lib. 1. lib. 11. 11. that all the people were enioyned to make strict accompt vnto the presedents of euery prouince, how they bestowed their times, & what arts they did professe; each mans particular name and profession being entred into a booke: so that if any was found to giue vp a false accompt of his labours, or was knowne to haue loytered out his time, he receiued punishment of death; and this was one of *Draco*s bloodie lawes: for honest exercise and studies are a meane to reduce, exorbitate, & prodigall affections to frugalitie: for sloathfull

B and idle persons as *Valerius* writeth, *Magis oneri quam honori sunt res pub.* Lib. de test. cap. 2. Impose more burthen then afford ornament to the Commonwealth. And therefore idle fellowes anciently amongst the *Athenians* were violently trayled into the market place to receiue punishment as grieuous offenders. The like inquisition was amongst the sage iuridicall *Areopagites*, which is in effect expressed by blessed *Paul* in one of his Epistles, *that he which will not worke, shall not eate.* Valerius lib. 2. ut de inquit. antiq. These *Areopagites* whose offices were not vnlike to the Romane Censors tooke such care, that idle fellowes should giue strict accompt of their time and profession employed and exercised. And this accompt of idlenesse was so great amongst our forefathers of former ages past, that they did not esteeme

C of any thing more shamefull then idlenesse. For this cause therefore the Philosopher *Cleantes* caried water to get him bread: and this was it which made *Plautus* that noble Comedian to bake bread. Furthermore *Solon* enacted it that the sonne was exempted from duetie towards his father, if he by the fathers meanes had not attained instruction in some science. The fruits or tokens rather of this idle leprosie which drowneth, or rather as it were insensate the members of any Commonwealth, are luculently described by *Salust* in these wordes: *Dormire prius quam somni capido est, non famem, non sitim, neq; frigus opperiri, sed ea omnia luxu anticipare: hac iuuentutem (ubi familiares opes defecerant) ad facinora incendebant:* Valerius lib. 16. Coniur. Catil. To sleepe before a mans eyes were heavy;

D not to tarry till he were hungry, thirstie, or cold, but to preuent all luxuriously: These disordered fashions when their owne priuate wealth was wasted, incensed, and prouoked youngmen to take in hand wicked courses. If this be not too common a vice in our Commonwealth then were we most fortunate. And hence it is that in detestation thereof, *Salust* in one other place saith, *Vbi socordia te ignauiaque tradideris nequidquam deos implorēs, irati infestique sunt:* It is in vaine that sloathfull and idle persons inuoke the gods, for they will bee wrathfull and punish them. Wherefore all such vagrant and idle persons, as our statutes haue most prudently pointed out, are fittest for the gallies or banishment. *Nulla namque re alia improbi ab iniuriōsa facinorosaque vita magis prohibentur quam proscriptiōis metū; qualibet ad egestatem perducas: nam male meritis publico exemplo ad terrorem malefactorum paupertate laborare cogitur:* For wicked persons are not by any meanes so soone restrained from iniurious and sinfull courses, as by the terror of banishment, which bringeth their children to beggerie: for by publike example all such as deserue euill (to terrifie

mal-

In Her. fur.

malefactors) are driuen through extreame pouertie to labour. Hence was it that the noble *Tragadian* writ, *venit ad pigros cana senectus*. Neither is it fit that any idle fellowes should liue vpon the common-wealths labours, vnlesse their labors be employed for the commonwealth; which euen the course of nature in little Bees teacheth vs, which will not suffer any Drone, or idle Bee that bringeth in no honie, either to eat out of their labours, or to liue within their wax.

I will not insift vpon more obseruations, concerning the knowledge and practise of Iudges: desiring them that read this, not to impute my paines to arrogancie in dealing with studies beyond my weake element, neither to any other wants (which are manifold in it) considering that I haue with cheerfulnesse done my best for the yong Readers benefit.

The noble Iudges and Lawyers which haue left vnto vs the knowledge of our Common-lawes, hauing taken great paines for the comfort and benefit of this Common-wealth, as is manifest by their written Bookes, and reports of the Law, be Master *Glanville*, *Littleton*, *Fitzherbert*, *Brooke*, *Dyer*, *Plowdon*, and that right worthy Lawyer of our time, Sir *Edw. Cooke*, the Kings Atturney generall.

The reuerend Fathers and Iudges in the Lawes of our time, were *Wray*, *Bacon*, *Harper*, *Bromley*, *Manwood*, *Anderson*, *Egerton*, and *Popham*: whose excellent gifts of knowledge and wisdom, haue bene plentifully powred out, to the generall benefit of this Nation.

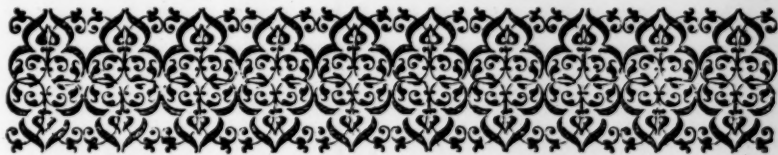
Diuers excellent men of great prudence, learning & hope for our own laws, residing and studious in our houses of court, and otherwise dispersed through his Maiesties dominions, adorne and beautifie this Realme; whose names fit me not here to insinuate. So that this Nation vnder Gods gouernment, during good Queene *Elizabeth* her raigne, was enriched and robed with the gold and purple of fortune and wisdom auspiciously combined together. And since her time with his Maiesties high prudence, alwayes studying and inclining to the peace and happinesse of his people, graciously begun, and very like blessedly to continue to his Highnesse high comfort, so long as it shall stand with Gods high pleasure, his Maiesties honour, and with the speciall weale of his Kingdomes.

The Lawes before King *Edward* the third his raigne (as *Glanville* and *Bracton* record) and some which were established in the dayes of his father *Edward* of *Carnarvan*, and of King *Richard* the second were written in Latine: but in the first of King *Edward* the third his raigne, who had, as it is knowne generally, good and lawfull right to the crowne of *France*, and did retaine diuers of those Prouinces in possession, were all of them written in French. Howbeit soone after, to the ende that the people might the better vnderstand what was spoken for & against them, the Lawyers which before lately pleaded in French, vpon such inconuenience found, were enioyned by one act of Parliament, that all their pleadings in all courts & place within the realme should be made in English, but entred and enrolled in Latine. And so much in brieft concerning the Legall counsell or court of Iudges.

Finis libri tertij.

Anno 36. Reg.
Edw. 3. cap. 15.

A



The fourth Booke

B

of Offices.

C



Tis commonly seene in the depraued condition of humane nature, that diuers persons doe vehemently desire to be reputed skilfull, and excellently learned in some commendable arts which they neuer attained. A vicious bindnesse proceeding (as I deeme) from pride innated, and from a certaine dishonest kinde of sluggishnesse;

D

when any man shall thinke, that he can buy the credit and falsed opinion of diuine treasures, with meere idlenesse; in whose loathsome and vsauoy kennell, the ragged, blind, barbarous, and misbeliuing idoll ignorance, filthily wallowing holdeth a perpetuall slouens right, and doth in very foolish arrogancy vpon meere earthly presumption, euerlastingly blemish all other laudable perfections, which can be quoated in the faire and true carde of mans diuine nature and industrie. The scandall of which dishonest imputation, that I might crush to death in the head, me seemeth it in conscience expedient, and a chiefe branch of my ductie to confesse a trueth: how much it exceedeth the weake bounders of my naked iudgement, to furnish

E

fit in compleat armes of prooffe, with all futable habiliments of honour this right noble counsell of warre; which though it be last in place, yet is it first in proceffion, and not lowest in profession, considering that it putteth the titles of all right, and iust honour in execution. It is the noble corrector of all prodigall states, a skilfull bloodletter against all dangerous obstructions and pluralities of peace, the most soueraigne purgation of all superfluous and spreading humours or leprosies, which can breed in any generall politicke body. Necessity which importuneth a fourth place in my booke doth vrge me to that which my dishabilities towards the seruice of so serious a subiect shuld otherwise inhibit: my practise in warres hath bene very little, my knowledge in bookes and histories, slender in such respects: and (as it is the generall fault of youthfull temeritie) when I first entred the martiall lists, negligently did I restraine my selfe from those needfull obseruations, which should haue bene the very scope proposed to my whole time of seruice in armes, through the vaine weakenesse of my Greene and vnstayed head: therefore I most humbly

Y

Graue

craue pardon for such omiffions as will be found in this treatife frequently; F
 recommending it vnto the best and honorable iudgements which cannot cal-
 lumniate; with a generall exception and protestation againft the vulgar in
 their bitterneffe without difcretion, from which kinde of fpirits I defire ear-
 neltly that my trauels may be concealed. The matter is of it felfe moft ample;
 and many things may be required, which I know cannot be (without fome
 irkefomenesse to the reader) infered: points of more moment ouerfhooting
 the fcope of my knowledge I referre to my mafters in armes, that haue by
 much valour and long experience attained the martiall girland of iuft honour,
 and can famously from the golden trumpet of farre founding victorie clang G
 out aloud with heroicall cheere and alacritie, the true flourifh and cuerliuing
 bruit of bloodie fweats and battailes.

Office of military
 Governours.

Calpurnius de
 rebus Accepia-
 cis

Lib. 1. in princ.
 cod Iustiniani
 & in proam.
 inftit.

Lib. 1. Conc.
 Corinth.

Bell. Iugurth.

Warre being vpon honorable grounds and with due deliberation vnder-
 taken, is the conftant and inestimable bafe of a blessed peace, rectifying, com-
 pofing and perfecting all iniuries, diforders, and imperfections in euery ftate;
 hence was it that fage *Heraclicus* did call warre the father, king, and foueraigne
 of all creatures, reprocuing *Homer* for his ignorance, becaufe he prayed againft
 variance, and debate amongst gods, and men; holding opinion that the blind
 Poet did (by fo praying) curfe the generation of all creatures, which accor-
 ding to the grounds of our Philofophicall reason doth fubfift of fighting and H
 antipathie. It is vulgar how the foundations of all Empires are framed out of
 good lawes and good armes: But good lawes are of fmall force, vnleffe they
 be maintained by needfull skill and praftife of weapons. Howbeit in all pla-
 ces of the ciuill and imperiall lawes where there is any mention made of wars
 and lawes together, armes haue the first place.

Moreover, note it pofitiuely, that where militarie fciencie and exercife is
 frequent, there good lawes are in moft force and honour: for it maintaineth
 and magnifieth euery Commonwealth and ftate; without it, none haue long
 flourifhed or continued: and according to *Thucydides*, he that will not in tran- I
 quillitie leuie neceffarie warre standeth in the very doore of daunger: and this
 of *Tacitus*. *Sapientes pacis causa bellum gerunt; laborem spe orij sustinent: nisi il-*
lam firmam efficit, vinci, an vicisse quid retulit &c. Wife men to purchase peace
 leuie warre; they labour in hope of future eafe: vnleffe your peace be firme,
 what auaieth it you to conquer or to be conquered. Warre is therefore a
 multitude combined and afsembled together in armes in one caufe vnited
 with a noble and needfull refolution to refift and defeate all violence which
 is opposed or vrged againft any king, kingdome, or their confederates.
 Wherein first muft be confidered generally that which *Salust* writeth. *Omne*
bellum facile sumi, ceterum agerrime desinere; non in eiusdem potestate initium eius
& finem esse: incipere cuius etiam ignauo licet; deponere vero cum victores velint. K
 All warres are eafily begun, but with great difficultie finished, it is not in one
 mans power, both to beginne and end the warre: euery dastardly coward
 may begin; but it resteth in the pleasure of him that vanquifheth to make an
 end thereof.

The foote or end of warre therefore muft be precisely looked vpon, with
 the

- A** the toppe and occasion. For example, when it is soundly warranted by the Lawes of nations; as in lawfull levying of armes either in the cause of God *God's warre.* which is principal being moued & assisted by diuine spirit, against his enemies: such as you shal finde in ages not long past, which by the Emperor (being confederated and vnited in force with the princes of Christendome) were auspiciously stirred vpingenerall against the Turke, and against other blasphemous opposites of Christ, and of his people: or in defence of the Commonwealth, against all forraine inuasions or impeachments of their naturall liberties. As it was in my remembrance prouided by the dearly remembred nurrice of this Nation, *Queene Elizabeth. Pro aris & focis*, against the puissant Armado of *Spaine*, which purposed a conquest of this Nation, and was confounded by the spirit of God, mouing in the windes and waters, against those forraine ships vnder the propitious and euer-admired valor of Gods hand-maiden; whose apport & carriage in those difficulties are worthy to be recorded, with a pen of finest gold in hardest marble, or in that (if any thing be more durable) which is most permanent and diuine vpon earth. For being then amongst her souldiors heroically mounted, she promised with many comfortable words of encouragement, to share with them in fortunes, if the Spaniard durst shew his face aland. Such and so marueilous was her natie fortitude and true pietie, published in her Campe at *Tilburie*, vpon the zeale and motherly loue of Gods cause, and of the safegard of his chosen people
- C** vnder her scepter, as is euerlastingly registred already with her soule about the starres.

Out of this brancheth a lawfull kinde of inuasion vpon forraine states, in case of some honor or right which is vniustly detained by violent hand, after that restitution hath bene peaceably demanded. As that which the right

- wife and most renowned Prince, the beautifull president of peace, and the deuouring thunder-bolt of warre, King *Edward* the third (your Maiesties most worthy Progenitor) breathed out against France: which martiall lightening was so terrible that it deuoured the disobedience of that people, and established him in his right: which first was wonne with the weight of most honourable battell. And those warres which the valorous French King maintained, a long time after the venemous murder of his pcedecessor, & brother in Law, King *Henry* the third of France and Poleland, against the Duke *Du Mayne*, great Chamberlaine of France, with the Duke of *Parma* and others; that resisted him in his hereditarie dominions, vntill the Pope had restored him to the crowne.
- D**

- There is likewise a iust warre grounded vpon charitie, which vndertaketh the protection of our friends or confederates. Such were they, which our prementioned soueraigne Lady lately levyed to succor the Free-states of base Germanie thereby to protect them from the rigorous and vnspeakeable seruitude of *Spaine* and *Castille*: whose approoued faithfulness of old to this Realme, is many times noted in our Chronicles. Onely such warre as is vndertaken for amplification of dominion and Empire, and that which ambition marshalleth, with such iniurious quarrels as are scandalously picked out of
- E**

counteifeir grounds, and heads more fit for Turkes, Infidels, or traytors, then for sacred and royall minded princes; may not bee summoned to this throne of heroicall iustice, but vnrespected or reiecte^d vtterly. Vnto the performance of these warres thus iustly to be commenced and raised the choise of soldiers is first required, as well Captaines as ordinarie seruitors, including soldiers for fight, and labourers for worke. Of these in their particular offices and degrees successiue^{ly}.

The first and highest place of power and reputation in the field, the Prince himselfe vpon some principall causes in his owne person houldeth; vnder whom all other Generals and Captaines are waged, and beare office. But forsomuch as at this day few princes are seene militant in forraine countries, vnlesse they stand appealed to such battels forcibly, through some forcible iniustice of others, eithervpon detinew of due tributes or territories (the custome and possession whereof hath bene of most ancient memorie continued in his antecessors by discreet succession, to the very point of his own raigne) and also because fewe Princes are personally seene in battels of our dayes vpon their owne soyle, vnlesse against assailants or tirannous vsurpers; such as were expected (of which I spake before) by our soueraigne *Elizabeth*, and provided against the inuasion of King *Philip Anno 1588.* and for some other particular reasons, I will passe ouer the particulars of his highest place in martiall Campe, referring my selfe to his commission; by vertue whereof, vpon ordinary tearmes of warre, the Prince or Emperour deputeth his Lieutenant generall to supply the place and office of maiestie; hauing sometimes certaine priuate and princely directions not expresse^d, by which in dearest trust to him by his soueraigne committed he must shape his course. In all outward apparance, he must cape according to the strict tenor of his instructions, in commission vnder the Prince his great seale deliuered. The least fillable in sence being expresse^d therein, he may not without high danger to himselfe transgresse; vnlesse the soueraignes aduice and opinion be first had and knowne, or after vpon more firme reconsideration deliuered.

The princes deepe Iudgement and discretion in electing of his Lieutenant generall, ought to be principally grounded vpon good aduice, and sure notice taken of his sufficiencie for such a place. First he should be a man of able, strong, and actiue bodie, well knit, of a durable complexion, neither too much brent, nor drowned (as I sayd in the secret counsellor) hard and at defiance with tendernes^s, delighting in paines and practise of Armes: and in him fve principall things are required.

The first is fidelitie, rebounding from his dignities and noble education, opposite to which standeth infidelitie issuing from auarice and malice: for such as are couetous and malicious be faithlesse, and therefore by the lawes imperiall not eligible to the place of Princes or Generals of Armies. Science, the second garbe of a noble Commander, conuerseth in the knowledge of Topographie both by the Carde and Mappe, as by practise in much trauell. By this he discerneth what Marches are competent for the souldiers, answerable vnto their bodies strength, & vnto the present need which the seruice in hand

*Cepula ind. vers.
pro imp. colum. 6.*

- A** hand shall impose. By this he disposeth of all aduantages, which the places, times and seasons shall offer; as by the benefit of hills, valleys, lanes, riuers, marshes, woodes with all the sunnes and windes of the compasse: also such obseruations & attributes of that nature, as appertaineth militarie profession. This science is attained by the ingenuous exercise, vigilancy, assiduitie, painfull & frequent trauell in places, by the contemplatiue direction of military books and indefatigable practise with a delight had in war. To discern whether he which may be thought fit for the office of a Generall be possessed of this science; the Prince therefore (as I said) considereth of his age, of his time imployed in seruice, of those wars wherein he did serue, of the masters and commanders vnder whom he was disciplined & exercised, of his nation, his discretion, & of the place where he should serue.
- B** Valor, which is the third and principall vertue contained in his heart (whereof I purpose to speake more at large in the Morals of my fourth Booke) standeth in the midst of these five properties: issuing from his sapience in aduise, from his counsell in prouision, from his seruencie in action, from expedition in execution, from his sagacitie with wilnesse in stratagemes, and from his patience in trauell. Out of these qualities the temperature of good health, magnanimitie, fortitude, contempt of pill, and faithfulness proceed. Adiunct to them according to *Capola*, be modestie, clemencie, courtesie, suauitie, facilitie, temperance in all actions accompanied with trueth, innocencie, iustice, and liberalitie. These honorable
- C** qualities amongst all soldiers conciliate vnto the L. generall reputation or authoritie, which is when his behests are with all diligence, willingness and expedition executed by the souldiers: but specially these haue most force in military masters, when they be with beautie, power, riches, honour, and nobilitie made absolute. Vpon this dependeth likewise his felicitie which in a souldier is most glorious and should seeme principally to proceed from fortitude: for certaine it is, that he which in fight sheweth courage and excellent alacritie, combined with prudence in all extremities, doth in fauour of himselfe forcibly moue malicious and raging fortune, being conquered with his fortitude and patience, to take his parts for very shame of her selfe: and hence is
- D** it that *Aeness* hafteneth his souldiers languishing in their extremities after escape from *Naufrage*.

Durate & vosmet rebus seruate secundis.

Aenad. 1.

- Intimating to them, that patience ingendreth prosperitie, which (being the companion of counsell and reason, a precious gift of God, & the true cognizance of diuine fauour; and not proceeding in any meane from humane industrie) may well suffragate with other giftes to the election of a Generall.
- E**

Besides all these, he must be knowne firme to the Prince and quarrel committed to his decision: likewise he should retaine that vertue in himselfe to giue life and courage to his battels, by the example of *Valerius Corvinus*, captaine of the Romane forces, then ready to ioyne in conflict against the *Sarmis*.

mers : who wished them in his oration to repose every man in his owne valor, F
 and to follow him in feits of armes to the vttermost of their force : or like that
 heroicall speech which the noble Romane rebell *Cassius* breathed vpon his
 souldiers and companions (fainting in their former resolutions) thus. None
 but conquerers will exchange war for peace : it were madnes in you to thinke
 that you can saue your liues by sheathing those swords which should defend
 you from the violence of such enemies, as pursue you with slaughter ; they
 which are in most feare stand in deepest daunger : whereas boldnesse is a bra-
 sen bulwarke. But when I ponder your former actions and resolutions (my
 braue souldiers) then doe I make sure accompt of certaine victorie, which is
 visibly presented to my spirit from your spirits, ages, and honours proportion- G
 ably: Adde hereunto that present necessitie which coyneeth courage out of
 cowards. And in another place that which infuseth valour into catiue carca-
 ses. *Cauete ne inulti animam amissis, non capti potius sicuti pecora trucidemini;*
quam virorum modo permautes, cruentam, asque luctuosam victoriam hostibus re-
linquatis: Haue a care that you loose not your liues vnreuedged, neither be
 taken prisoners like beastes destined to the slaughter; but that fighting like va-
 lorous men you may leaue vnto youre enemies such a dolorous and lamentable
 spoyle and victorie, as may be bought to their cost. Such a kind of adhortati-
 on, or vehement & impulsive perswasion doth maruailously moue and spurre
 forward the spirits of forlorne souldiers vpon desperate aduentures : or as that
 noble saying of *Marius*, animating his fellowes in armes. *Egomet in agmine,* H
in praelo consulsor idem, & socius periculi vobiscum adero ; me vosque in omnibus
rebus iuxta geram. I my selfe (in the shock, and in the battell) will be readie
 both to giue you my best directions and aduise, and to partake with you fel-
 lowlike in all perils, and in all prosperous or disastrous accidents, I will per-
 sonally share fortunes with you. Moreouer it well fitteth with the grace and
 good fortune of a Generall (after some good successe, & victories attained by
 his souldiers which will vndoubtedly giue great hartinesse and hopes to men
 in armes, although their enemies much exceede them in number) to spurre
 them forward to noble battaile by good example of that priest, by whose per-
 suasion the Israelites were set on fire with fortitude; and to banish feare, faint-
 nesse, and astonishment : *Forasmuch as the Lord went with them to fight against* I
their enemies, and to protect them. Howbeit the prowesse of a Generall, may not
 onely consist in gallant adhortation, fierie speeches, verball blowes, and fierce
 menaces onely; for such take more delight in the plausible volubilitie of their
 tongues, then in th'immortall valour of their hearts : but his iudgement also
 must be sound, and ripe, his valour noble, and perfect, his wisdom diuine,
 and vigilant ; his assiduitie skilfull, and profitable; his heart franke and hono-
 rable, heroically despising earthly riches, as the very corruption of all blessed
 mindes on earth, and whatsoever tasteth of this base and humble putrifaction K
 or mortalitie. For Generals which are blotted with couetousnesse can neuer
 attaine the true faith and loue of their souldiers ; as by manifold example and
 experience is found : they should therefore consider what the conditions of
 some speciall gallant captaines in former ages haue bene in that case ; and
 they

- A they shall find *Alexander* munificent, *Cesar* magnificent, *Cirrus* bountifull; and amongst priuate Generals and Captaines that *Scipio Africanus* was a man that onely protested against the desire of money, and treasure, when (after his conquest of all Atrike which he made tributarie to the Romanes) he could not shew any spoiles or booties of that warre vpon his returne, but onely the bare title of *Africanus*, which enlarged and famoused his name. Good generals and captaines therefore should imitate such honour, as those two noble brethren *Publius*, and *Lucius Scipio*, which were called the two thunderboulds of warre: for they protested that neither the treasures of Carthage nor of all Asia could make them auaricions; but that the riches (of which they were possessed, and had got from others) did wholie consist vpon emulation, and enuy; not vpon money. A worthie precedent amongst many more remaineth living in the legend of Phocion, that noble generall of Athens surnamed *Bonns Pauper*, honorably recorded in *Plutarches* histories: whose condition was to contemne riches so faire, that when certaine Embassadors from *Philip* King of Macedonia did present vnto him huge heapes of treasure, and kingly giftes, hee did peremptorily refuse them: the regard of his owne desert, nor the benefit of his children (both which they did acknowledge vnto him) would not enduce *Phocion* to receaue them: but out of his singular magnificence and magnanimitie (dismissing the legates loaden as the came) answered them on this fashion. If my sonnes follow their fathers example, this little land in my possession (which maintained me in martiall seruice vntill I was promoted to this dignitie) may competently serue them: But if they degenerate, I doe not purpose with my gaines or gettings to maintaine their riot. Many such obseruations remaine to captaines in the memorials of *Cirrus*, *Alexander*, & of other princes and commanders. In like sort *Marcus Curius* after his triumphs ouer *Pyrrhus* had presented vnto him (sitting then to the fire) a great masse of gold, sent from the Samnites: but his answere was, *Non aurum habere preclarum est, sed illis (qui aurum possident) imperiare*. It is not a glorious thing to be possessed of huge heapes of gold; but it is most excellent to be lord ouer them which haue it in possession.
- D *Marius* likewise gaue all his spoyles gotten at *Vtica* amongst his souldiers: for that noble captaine was of opinion, that abundance of riches would effeminate the minds of gallant souldiers; whereupon his saying was as *Salust* citeth it. *Ex parente meo & ex alijs sanctis viris accepi, mundicias mulieribus, viris laborem conuenire: omnibusque bonis oportere plus gloria, quam diuitiarum esse; arma non supellectilem decori esse*. I haue learned this lesson of my father, and of other holy men; that curious and neate fashions are fit for women, and that labour and hardenesse becommeth men: moreouer that all good men should take more delight in glorie then in riches; that armour and not household furniture most decoreth and graceth a man. Likewise a generall must be constant in all well resolued actions, and at hostile defiance against all feare of man; skilfull in all actiue practise of armes, hauing wonne his place by desert of honour in the field; a man fortunate vpon attempts, and assaults, one that will stand like a stedfast trophie in the bodie and heart of his battell, Lyon-like demeaning
- E

meaning himsele in eager fight with incomparable valiancie; leading, tray-
ning, instructing, disciplining, and encouraging his battailes, with a more
then humane spirit and prudence, pricking their hearts forward to the field
of victorie, with the golden spurre of his vertues.

The states and liues of princes and of their people may not be committed to
men exalted by birth or other desert and fauour in those degrees onely: but
vnto men approued in these & such like heroical conditions. The knowledge
(which he must of necessitie with all carefull diligence & affection embrace) is
attayned in iudicious hearing, and obseruing of actions, from the true relation
of accomplished souldiers in their attempts, elcairmouches, defences, charges,
formes of battels, assaults, countermynings, sodaine, close, and v unexpected ca-
misadoes, in their secret treaties, priue confederacies, articles of truce or sur-
render; and such ingenuous and noble choise of hidden stratagems, as haue
best suited with the time, the place, and persons in opposition. For (vpon such
his curious obseruation) to declare the singular quicknesse or ingenuous fa-
gacitie and perspicuitie of his wit and iudgement; he shall be stirred vp (in
hope of endlesse honor) to deuise snares, sleights, and labyrinths to blinde
and inrangle his enemies after some other new forme vnheard or thought of:
which (by how much the more strange it is) maketh the securitie for the ac-
complishment thereof so much the readier when time for execution shall
serue: heerein his indefatigable industrie, his bodies abilitie, his mindes alacritie,
shall best to life appeare. Reading of hystories (which I before commended
in a secret counsellor) will furnish and illuminate his knowledge and vnder-
standing specially: for certaine it is, that it best behooueth Generals to attaine
knowledge by reading before they begin to practise: because such are other-
wise preposterous that practise before they know how to doe. For after some
exercise and insight into the warres, his owne experience will bee the best
guide vnto himsele if he be wise, obseruing, and industrious, as well for the
order, and instruction of his battailes, and armies; as in the care, and intricate
cunning, of premeditating and deciphering his enemies plots, purposes, and
attempts, before they can happen; how to auoid and frustrate their deuices in
execution of them; what wayes and meanes remaine to turne their actions,
once commenced vpon their owne heades; and lastly, how to whistle them
forward with a faire and negligent semblance bearing a perfect colour to their
advantage, vntill such time as being once entred their estates be distressed, mi-
serable and remediesse. All which (with infinite of that nature, to a wit which
is wise and honourable, still working and alwayes exercised in glorious cogi-
tations) will diuinely spring by studious knowledge of Histories. To this
adioyne the ready meanes and reasons of hastening, and lingring warre, the
causes exciting in him present hope, or feare of happie chaunce, or calamitie
Which should not moue or discourage him (as I spoke before in the ciuill
counsellor) for it is vulgar that no wise man can be dismaied, or ouer-houen
therewith: euen (in time of peace) he must giue sure apparance of his exte-
rior fortitude and assiduitie, by carefull exercising, & encouraging of the peo-
ple and veteranes ordained for seruice in their marches, counter-marches; di-

A uers fashions and ready formes of drawing themselves into squares, or cubes, cylinders, or lozanges, triquits, and pyramids vpon a sudden, as they shall be commanded or directed to serue, with most aduantage against the enemies: alwayes yeelding a renowned example of his labour and painfullnesse in businesse, of valor and fortitude in danger, of diligence and vehemencie in actions, and of expedition in execution, after perfect maturitie in deliberation.

The interior goodnesse and bountie (which accompanieth him) is decently garnished with temperance, innocencie, faithfullnesse, gentlenesse, humanitie, prudence, and foresight; requiring a vertuous circumspection and doubt, as in not committing any thing to the wheele of fortune, but vpon in-

B evitable necessitie, least his actions be racked vpon it, as hath beene found in diuers captaines, which by the like temeritie fell downe, when they with all their forces leaned vpon her wheele. For they that in rage and crueltie charge their enemies (whom they rather contemne then take heed of) are not well aduised, because faults in fight are not easily redressed: as *Lamachus* (who gouerning an Armie) replied; that *warre might not permit one fault twice*. Temeritie therefore in martiall actions, is both foolish and vnfortunate: howbeit, the General should alwayes bestow himselfe in some needfull businesse being wholly gouerned in all his imprefes by reason, without any respect of fortune. For it is not in strength and audacioufnesse onely, whence victorie

C must be deriued, but in true courage and nobilitie: considering that *Omnis* Offic. 1.
vis nostra in animo, & corpore sita est: alterum nobis cum dijs, alterum cum bel-
luis comune: All humane force is planted in the minde, and in the body: by the mentall force we be fitly resembled vnto the gods, by corporall strength onely to brute beasts: and you shall note it certainly, that those which put most affiance in corporall strength, repose most in fortune and good lucke, and nothing in prudence. And hence was it that sapience is accounted as one inseparable companion and captaine ouer euery Generall which directeth him: for those which trust in other force then that which is marshalled by sapience, be like vnto those of whom the Prophet *Baruch* speaketh: *And those Gyants whom* Cap. 3.

D *the Lord hath not chosen perished, because they wanted wisdom.* Wherevpon *Trogus Pompeius* saith, *Alexander victoriam obtinuit qui consilio gubernauit ex-* Lib. 11.
ercitum: *Alexander* was a conquerer, because he gouerned his Armies by counsell. And that excellent wise Poet *Horace*.

Vim temperatam dii quoque prouehunt.

Lib. 3. Ode 4.

And hence is it likewise, that the noble and true-fighted Poet *Homer*, in the Lib. 2. Illiad.
E person of *Agamemnon* saith; that he could with ease haue sacked *Troy*, hauing but ten such as *Nestor*, whose wisdom was the discipline of his warre: Considering how by sapience and prudent fore-sight, wise captaines may with a few handfuls triumph ouer many legions, & worke out their honors in despite of fortunes malignitie: which accordeth well with those common Prouerbes: *Sapiens sibi fortunam fingit & dominabitur astris:* A wise man will shape out his

owne fortune, as he would haue it, and will antiuert the fatall influence of his starres. Authoritie befitte also, which includeth the true loue and reuerence of souldiers vnto their leaders: this is none of the small respects towards his administration of warre. Adde vnto these seueritie which doth purchase this benefit in a Commander, when no man in Campe nor Garison offending, can expect more fauour then is limited by the Lawes of Armes. For souldiers (albeit they delight in lenitie) contemne milde captaines such as *Scipio* was, whom *Fabius* therefore accused to the Senate, as a corruptor of the Romane militarie discipline. Austeritie therefore procureth obedience towards Generals (although their seueritie be disliked) which being well attempted with courteous behauiour, winneth grace and loue. This by the Lieutenant generall his bodily paines and exercise amongst his souldiers is soonest attained, by his apparell and other corporall ornaments, little differing in forme and substance from some of theirs, by his charitie, which together with punishment for their faults, is planted in a mercifull care and consideration how to relieue the poore distressed and wounded souldier, with clothes, food, and chirurgerie. In all which actions meddled (as I said) with a competent seueritie the Generall winneth of his souldiers a fatherly reuerence, and filiall feare with all conformable obedience. Such a worthy precedent to Generals was giuen in the person of *Anniball* (which *Liue* recordeth) when his souldiers in pursuit of the *Numidians*, had passed the great riuier *Trebia*, and being come to land their ioyns and members were so starke (what with the cold wind which then in winter bet vpon them, and partly with the water which tooke them vp to the brest) that at night before euery Tent *Anniball* caused a great fire to be made, and sent oyle vnto his souldiers to molifie their bodies being agealed with cold extreame: by which meanes, and presently with good victuals refreshed and cherished (as it is generally noted throughout in the care and prudence of *Anniball*) the next morning they became forward, seruiceable, and eager of battell. His tenderneffe towardes them wanne that loue in their hearts, as being otherwise a man of seuer discipline amongst his souldiers, the loue of his care equalled in them the feare of his discipline.

*2. belli Punic
lib. 1. de cad. 3.*

There is a needfull kinde of discipline required in generals and chieftaines, which punisheth priuate wrongs in their souldiers mutually done amongst themselves: for otherwise they would fall to quarrels, disgraces, factions, and mutinies. Infomuch as if they bewell disciplined (what with experience, and partly by good example grounded therevpon, namely when the Lawes of Armes are seuerely distributed, and executed vpon such with death, with corporall punishment, or pecuniarie mulct, according to the qualities of their faults which either shall shewe disobedience towards those Officers vnder whose charge they serue, or shal fight in Campe or within the precincts thereof, leauing their colours without licence had before of the Generall or Marischall, onely to satisfie some priuate reuenge intended vpon malice or rancor) then will they grow ciuill and carefull how to preferue the common peace of their Campe amongst themselves.

Infinite

- A** Infinite of these examples in my knowledge & such as are vulgarly knownen to souldiers, I pretermitt in this point; only this is a certaine trueth, that if a priuate souldier or other person not priuate being grievously disgraced or iniured at his fellowes hands, cannot vpon complaint made vnto the magistrate & commander find redresse, it is full of perill to them that should order the same. For men in gricuous wronges are naturally couetous and eager of vengeance, which some stubborne and implacable hearts will prosecute with all violence to the preiudice & confusion of their contrey, rather then faile: for wrath hath no power to retaine either reason or mediocritie, when it is once vnquencha-
B bly kindled with the wild fire of vengeance; but outrageously tyrannizeth in extreames, negligently, but more fiercely rather rushing and encountring with the ruine of it selfe, & the confusion of all things next it, which it eagerly deuoureth: and they that are of that fierie mettall, take glory like *Diogenes*, to beate the schoolemaster for a fault in the scholler, as *Pausanias* did, who being a very beautifull youth in the court of *Philip K.* of Macedon great *Alexanders* father did suffer, or was forced with violence of *Attalus* one of the king his minions for the braastly staunching of his vnnaturall lust: of which filthinesse hauing made hanious complaint vnto the king (who did not onely neglect the punishment, but did afterwards aduance that preposterous villaine to the place of a presedent ouer some prouince) *Pausanias* gathering with indignation dai-
C ly more and more poyson of strong despight vpon such apparant iniustice, at the mariage of King *Philips* daughter with the prince of Epirus, before the bridegrome and his sonne *Alexander* amongst a thousand armed persons of the guard he desperately murthered him. Souldiers therefore as I said before, will through the captaines industrie become seruiceable and valiant.

- Such therefore as propose honor for the meed of their trauels are cold, resolute, of a quiet and vnbroken spirit, knitting vp all their vertues in that action to which the whole force of mind & bodie must be bent: not fighting to winne the girland for others, but principally proposing the wagers honour for themselves: & hence happeneth that mercenaries cannot combat with that true courage and martiall alacritie which natie contrimen will: for they fight only for
D a little wages; and such venture of life, and hazard of themselves will not serue in time of neede, vnlesse it be very wonderfully seconded with frequent, and those gallant succours, knowing how many noble princes haue miscarried in reposing vpon such hollow valours. Moreouer natie souldiers both by the causes necessity, and in hope of a glorious conquest wherein the largest portion of iust reputation happeneth to themselves, wil put to their most excellent and best approued force; to such men feare and difficulties are contemptible: the cause of this their excellent valor proceedeth from the goodnesse of a true parent in person of their prince, who will share his honors & commodities with
E them, and from the noble worthinesse of their commaunders and leaders being natie contrimen and engrafted to their societies. *Tullus Hostilius* successor of *Numa*, notwithstanding the fourtie yeeres intermission from warre did onely choose his souldiers out of his owne cities reiecting all auxiliaries of the Samnites and Tuscanes which had beene well disciplined, trayning his owne

people; and through them attained conquest. Likewise king *Henric* of Mon- F
mouth the fift of that name, from the conquerour king *William* the first, for his
right in the Crowne of France, vsed his owne English souldiers, and retur-
ning loaden with triumphes and victories obtained by them, that during all
the dayes of his father, and for thirtie yeres space before had not worne any
warlike furniture: whereas in contrary, the French had bene exercised in con-
tinuall warre against the Italians, and assisted or oppressed rather with those
hirelings of Swizzerland. The best forme of fighting in warre was in making
of great battailes, being composed of the most approued men in field for va-
lour, placed in the maine battaile or middle bodie of the hoast: for men which
being vnited fight together in multitudes, be much more valiant by nature G
then in small companies or handfuls.

Also the speciall thing which hangeth vpon the discipline and honour of
the Generall, is that the souldiers be duely paid their wages, and relieued with
viſtuall, which winneth in them a dutifull kind of reuerence and awfull re-
spect of their gouernours. This loue in them exceedeth the force of gold, and
the power of all opportunities and occasions, which can happen by times or
places. For that which maintaineth wars commonly proceedeth from contri-
bution of the people towards the common defence against forren violence;
and this lasteth no longer then they can be defended. Likewise all places na-
turally munit and fortified are nothing without the willing aide of men H
valiant to defend them by force: considering that treasure is wonne by the
sword, and not the sword's vertue by treasure. These foure points in the Gene-
rall, therefore make excellent souldiers, and consume Empire: Industrious
and due discipline, strong armes and sufficient for the fight, iust paiment of
wages, and a competent prouision of viſtuall; adde hereunto the fift (which
is the roote, mother, and perfection of all noble seruice and conquest) being
the firme loue & hearty reuerence of the souldiers. These points which haue
beene formerly noted by the politicke Florentine Secretarie to *Petro de Medici*
to conserue and augment, th'empire which he would haue had him haue
sought for, consist in manning of the strong cities with souldiers, borne in the
same prouinces, in conciliating the friendship and societies of neighbours, I
in planting colonies for defence vpon the skirts of their newly subdued pro-
uinces, in the spoiles of enemies, in foraging and hauocking vpon their har-
uest and husbandrie, in choosing rather to draw them together for battell in
Campe, then to besiege them within their cities, in studious respect of the
common cause and profit onely, in th'instructing and disciplining of souldi-
ers, in the knowledge and vse of armes; which eight points, if the prince
or lieuutenant neglect, hee may percase deuise notwithstanding other
meanes for the conseruation of his owne, but neuer for the amplification of
Empire; which augmentation if it should happen by lawfull meanes, as by the
meere prouidence, suggestion, and disposition of God doth not impugne K
Christian religion, but is most noble and loueable.

For some princes might vnder counterfeit pretext force men to defend
their owne, pretending a right in some things not belonging vnto them:

The

- A** The mainten. nce whereof may giue occasion vnto them, which execute Gods punishments vpon ambitious vsurpers, by diuine instigation to diuelt them of all: forsomuch as they will not leaue any thing which their vnsatiate auarice hath appetite to deuoure; for euery man is permitted to loue honour, and prote^t his countrie: and the reason why so fewe free people and States are in comparisn of former times, and such a defect of true louers and of valiant champions of liberties in comparisn of former ages (as a wily Commonwealths man hath noted) is, that people in hope of beatitude, and towards the fruition of a second comfortable life, deuise in these dayes how to tolerate and not to reuenge iniuries: as if that no saluation could come from aboue, but by keeping of their swordes and armes rustely sheathed and cased;
- B** when a vehement necessitie doth importune the contrarie; whilst they sottishly nuzzling themselues in sluggish securitie, vtterly condemne the lawfull meanes and courses of warre, restoring that needfully by force of swords, which no law nor charmes of perswasive words can accomplish.

There yet appendeth this discipline of souldiers, one principall respect of the captaines, that neither they crush nor excoiate the poore husband-man, which I partly touched in the Morals of my second Booke: for if it may be said vnto fraudulent merchāts (whose consciences are blasted with a couetous lethargie) Whether O yee fooles shall your soules trauell? What then may be spoken of such souldiers, that neither being contented with their stipend, or

C wages, nor with meat & drinke when they be faint with marching long iourneies vnder the languishing weight of their armour, which by poore husband-men is dayly ministred vnto them, in a kinde of fearefull charitie? For these like the bastards and counterfeits of honour, rauenously spoyle and take away the goods of those which entertaine them; shewing all cruell ingratitude towards them as vnto slaues in meede of their hospitalitie with grievous stripes, terrible menaces, and torturing those poore labouring catiues vpon the strappado of their vnsatiable couetousnesse euen to the last tetter, which these fiely creatures do pittifully lay downe at their feet to be rid of that fearefull tēpest, which those vnthankfull & barbarous guests raise in their cottages.

D For the preseruatiō of the weale, and securitie of Armies from feare and dangers of enemies, all deuises ought to be followed; as in the faithfull promises of the aduersaries, of confederates, of friends, and of their assured succours; but the speciall assurance is grounded in the generals person, who may by prudent direction so fashion out his estate, that he preuent his enemies of all wayes and meanes tending to his preiudice: whose principall happinesse is to force them into such a difficult strait, as without his clemencie no reliefe may seeme to remaine vnto them. Hee should also concerning auxiliaries

E and power of confederates, repose surest trust in succours of them, that reciprocally stand in most need of his helpe, or of him that either in respect of priuate profite or detriment is interessed in depth of the cause, not building in any case vpon those whom hee hath benefitted, least hee remedilessly exclaime against ingratitude, by the example of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, who hauing been a great friend and faithfull anchor of the *Athenians*,

ans, yet (being vnfortunately vanquished by his enemies) *Athens* that vngrate- F
full citie, would neither receiue nor protect him, comming thither for refuge,
where he was the shield-herne before : whereat *Demetrius* was more vexed
then for the losse of his whole estate. And likewise *Pompey* being vanquished
by *Cesar*, fled to *Ptolemie* king of Egypt, whom he some yeeres before had
restored, and planted in his kingdome: but for such his goodnesse towardes
him, *Ptolemie* tooke away his life. Which if ingratitude may doe, Princes,
and Generals should not thinke but that in truces, leagues, confederacies,
and pactions (which are but temporary, conuentions, or accords, without any
sufficient hostages, sureties, cautions, or pledges deliuered) if daunger and
losse of the whole armie depend thereupon, little hope will remaine of kee- G
ping league or friendship with most Princes, or opposite Commanders in
warre. But if it were admitted that any Prince should partake with the for-
ces of some more puissant than himselfe, as his friend assistant, let him assured-
ly perswade himselfe that it is either because he findeth by reasons good, and
more then probable, that his helpe can restore him: or else because he like-
wise hateth those parties against which he ioyneth in armes, so much as can-
not be with any meanes pacified. And hence it is that vpon due deliberati-
on (after the example of the Romanes) first had the Generall with huge force
and in short time, should doe his designe. For they comming with multitudes H
of men to the field, presently decided the cause with their swords. To the
conquered they granted conditions of peace, and lawes, or deducted colonies
of souldiers for tuition of their purchase, so that in short time they finished
their warres, and without any great expence of treasure: For the Romanes
would not trifle, or waste away the time of their businesse, in idle or vnnecef-
sarie pailiance; and yet so truly noble, that they more respecting the name of
conquest, then the couetous nature of conditions offered, would immediat-
ly when the field was wonne, out of their natie heroycall customes and in-
clinations graunt vnto the vanquished all fauourable libertie, declaiing more
then matchable magnificence in that; according to that saying in *Salust* I
against *Cariline*, *Victis nihil prater iniuria licentiam eripiebant Romani*: The Ro-
manes tooke nothing from them whom they subdued, but a licence or power
to doe them harme. If any spoyle were gotten, them they brought into the
publike treasure for maintaining of the souldiers, and easing of the peoples
tributes; so that the Romanes were enriched and bettered by their warres.
Neither was it permitted that any Consull (albeit he had in sundry noble bat-
tels and victories amplyfied the Empire) should passe in pompe and triumph
thorough the Citie, vnlesse he brought with him into the common treasure
infinite spoyle of gold and siluer also.

How souldiers ought to be resolu'd in battell, and to demean themselves K
by direction of their captaines, is spoken of sufficiently before: only this must
be narrowly respected, which is most forcible to the stirring vp, or cooling of
their martiall courages in fight, or vpon the point of charge: that sodaine spee-
ches and reports bee dispersed, with warinesse and ready circumspection
through the battels, as *Quinctius* the Consull vsed in his battels against the
Volscians,

A *Volsians*. For he finding his souldiers incline in the vaward, cryed vnto them amayne; *Why turne you faces in the fronts (my good souldiers) considering that they which fight in the reare haue got the victorie. Remember my good fellowes your honour which is layd vp (as you know) in the bosomes of your enemies, from whence you must eagerly winne it with your weapons.* This sodaine speech of his did adde such courage to them, that with a valiant resolution vniting and knitting vp all their forces together, they became Lords of the field.

In the Citie *Perugia* there was a faction, betwixt the families of the *Odi* and *Baglioni*, in opposition mortally diuided; but the *Odi* being more weake, were banished by that State: howbeit in the night-time, by meanes of certaine their friends within the towne, they got enterance priuily, purposing with their forces to possesse the market place; and to that ende had one to goe before them with a great mallet of yron to breake the locks of those chaynes which barricadoed the streetes in euery place, to the great hinderance of their horses as they should passe: they therefore hauing marched vnto the last chaine, and being readie to possesse the place where they purposed to make a parado, fitting themselues for that exploit in hande, the souldiers pressed so farre and fast vpon him that should haue broken the chayne, that he was forced to call for more roome, and to bid them giue backe: they therefore being in a troupe confused and close together, receiued the word by the sound of *Eccho* from the first to the last: And those which stood in the reare, not knowing the meaning thereof did turne faces, and so were occasion of their generall subuerfion.

In such sort *Inguirith* seeing the state of his battels desperate, vpon the coming in of *Bocchus*, strooke terror into the hearts of his enemies, by speaking in the Latin tongue (which Language he had learned at *Numantia*) that the field was his, that to resist his forces was in vaine, that a little before he had slaine *Marius* with his owne hands, and therewithall pretending that it was brought from the slaughter of *Marius*, shewed his sword yet smoking and dyed with blood. Moreouer, this ought specially to be noted in fight, that he which can patiently susteine the first charge, and yeeld with calme temper to the rage of his enemies (though they be twise in number so many) may spend all their forces, by varie lingring and catching of occasions wilily watched for. He should also (which commandeth them) giue good respect in his fighting, to the aduantages of ground, winde, and sunne; and with fresh handfulls for his better seconding and reliefe march gallantly forward. Neither can it be spoken what incouragement it addeth to the souldier, faint and wearied with blood and conflict, when hee seeth new succours freshly charging and participating of their trauels with martiall alacritie. Neither is it a small terror to the enemies, weakened, alayed and surrounded with the stubborne blowes of their enemies to finde and feele fresh gallants proudly marching, and come to tyrannize ouer the bodyes and spirits of their aduerfaries, already wearied and halfe dead which grew faint and feeble with continuance in fight, leauing not any member of the opposite battels free from blood and wounds.

Likewise if the souldiers be discouraged in fight, either by some negligence
or

Not: Macch. lib.
3. de d. siorfi
supra de d. Tilo.
L. 3. vii.

Salust.
Bell. Inguirith.

or other occasion loose the field: it is great wisdom in the General religiously F
 to let them know that their neglect, or contempt of Gods feare and seruice
 hath driuen them into the feare and seruitude of men, and also prophetically
 with a vehement maiestie to threaten vnto them the iudgements of God in
 their slackenesse, encouraging such in their eager sharpenesse & iolly resoluti-
 on either by some valorous example in himselfe, as that victorious Emperour
Julius Caesar did in his warres against the Gales, when he from a faint hearted
 souldier that doubted of victorie, did snatch a shield, wherewithall couering G
 himselfe, he did most eagerly fight, infusing a liuely fortitude and stedfast reso-
 lution to his desparing souldiers, by that notable example in himselfe, which
 drew them into the field of victorie: or by some other diuine meanes and
 promises when they shall find it most fit; as the Romanes which at the long
 siege of Veij growing wearie, and coueting to returne vnto their household-
 gods at Rome, their captaines wished them to persist in honorable valor vnder
 a religious pretext; signifying that the lake Albanus ouerflowing, pretended
 the subuersion of that citie the same yeere, according to th'oracle. The Pro-
 phet (by whose prediction it happened) for to confirme the souldiers more
 in those his presages was left captiue at Rome, vntill th'oracle was accompli-
 shed. And hence was it that the souldiers recouering more spirits in heart did
 continue their assiege, and within that yeeres limite possessed the towne. The
 like was scene in *Beleses* a Babilonian, skilfull of the Caldean auguries and di- H
 uination, who by the starres presaged a subuersion of the Assyrian monar-
 chie, encouraging *Arbaces* and his souldiers (after that *Sardanapalus* had thrise
 vanquished him in battailes before) to persist and continue force against
 him with fresh supplies: which he did, happening according to the soothsayers
 prediction; but more as me seemeth through pusillanimitie which deiected
 the prince being then fortified within Niniue, who feared an old oracle,
 which hee thought was fulfilled in falling of some part of the cities wall. And
 certaine it is that the force of religion will vehemently moue souldiers to con-
 tinue valliant in assurance of victorie, by diuers examples out of *Liuius*, when
 their estates were most desperate and remediless; yeelding a diuine force and
 light vnto their actions, if the captaines can by stratagemmes to themselues I
 onely knowen, harden their resolutions to performe what they shall deuise,
 not making them acquainted with any thing sauing execution. It is likewise
 a principall part of the Generals duetie, that (before the battell, and eue-
 ry morning, when they be brought by troupes into the plaine, to be reduced
 into ranks or Battagliaes, likewise at euening after their marches before their
 comming into the quarter; moreouer during the fight, and after the slaugh-
 ter) his speciall care tend, that diuers Chaplaines, Priests and Preachers make
 deuoute prayers, intercessions, and spirituall exhortations through his whole
 hoast, which hath alwayes beene most auailable. For from heauen commeth K
 fortitude and as it is written in the *Machabees*: *Ionathan rent his rayment, and*
hauing besmeared his head and face with earth, fell to prayer, and then returned vn-
to the battels of his armies, and put his foes to flight. And as it is written likewise
 in Exodus: *When Moyses lifted up his hands and prayed, Israel had the better ouer*
his

A *his enemies.* And they (which after such sacred preparations and resolutions by fighting in a good and honourable cause loose their liues) be said properly to die in the bed of honour. A memorable example of such pietie with happie successe ensuing it, may be taken from the sacred legend of *Iudas Machabens*, which all the nations of the world from those to these dayes, euen to the dissolution of this vniuersall nature natured, shall most honorably recommend and remember.

For the beleaguering, surprizing, taking in, and fortifying of townes, bulwarkes, castles, foitresses, sconces, and other defences, I referre it likewise to the knowledge of captaines and souldiers experienced. Onely this for that we reade it from the wisdome and sacred institution of God in *Deutro- Cap 20.*
B *nomie*: that at sh'assiege of any citie captaines should first offer peace; and if they that be distressed make peaceable offers, or offer peaceable conditions they should haue peace graunted vnto them, and bee made tributaries and seruants vnto their conquerers: but if they should in obstinate heart continue warre, then should the aduersarie maintaine his siege: For saith he, God will deliuer them into thy hands; then put all the male children to sword, reseruing the women and all other goods for thy seruice and commoditie. Cut not downe any fruite trees, for they shall serue for thy comfort and sustenance; but of all other trees which are fit to further the assiege and serue for fortification, to make bridges, or to staunche moates and ditches.

C The Romanes in surprisall or taking in of citties, would not endure the needlesse charge of long sieges; and therefore they wonne all townes, either by force apparant, or stratagemme. By force, as either with sudden and vnexpected assaults, by scaling ladders and multitudes of souldiers seconding one another in their scaladoes; and that was commonly performed with one dayes seruice, as *Scipio* tooke in Carthage: or if with more time then they did vse rammes, engines, vnderminings; as the citie *Veij* was wonne by raising vp of wooden frames or turrets higher then the walles from whence the souldier might wound and distresse with diuers darts, arrowes, slings, crossebowes and other weapons, such as kept within the walles for defence and maintenance of the citie: insomuch as the walles being battered with rammes, the citizens relieued themselves; as other townes and peeces at this day doe, when they repaire the breaches of cannons, by retiring or filling and refortifying after the breach. Their pyoners likewise countermining against their opposite minings, as in this age is vsuall resisting them in issue with pikes and such weapons as serue fittest. They did also staunch vp their enemies minings with strawe, brimestone, oyle, feathers, or such filth: which being set on fire within the close and dampish earth would choke, vp or driue them backe with grosse smoke and noisome fauour.

E The course of winning such places (as before I noted) is by mixt force or stratagemme; as also by secret conspiracies or confederacies, as in corrupting certaine the principall gouernors, or captaines of those townes or peeces: and yet there is danger in reposing trust or credite in such mercenarie faith, which is not commonly current. For the whole state of an Armie,

A a

(which

(which is indeed the carcasfe of a kingdome) may not onely be grieuouſly wounded, but irreuocably broken by that meanes: or it may percaſe be laid open by ſome accident or other. As it of late dayes happened when *Vlyſſingen* ſhould haue beene taken in, Sir *Robert Sidney Vicount Lyſle* Gouvernour, hauing had notice of the trecherie by very ſtrange meanes and v unexpected, by which the plots may be confounded. Certaine places may bee wonne by traine vnder truſt: as *Amiens* was taken by the ſtratagemme of carts, about nine yeeres ſithence. To ſtand longer vpon ſuch deuifes being ſo frequent and well knowne to militarie gouernours and maſters, were intirely needleſſe, referring them to *Cæſar*, *Thucydides* and *Linie*, whoſe Hyſtories are fully furniſhed with mater of that nature. G

In the aſſiege of any Towne or Peece whatſoeuer being ſtrongly munit, the principall courſe is to begin with all violence, and to take away from the beſieged all future meanes and hopes of lingring and protracting ſuccours. For the procraftination or protraction of one day, or houre in ſuch ſeruices (whereby the diſtreſſed Citizens or ſouldiers might haue beene relieued in the delay) may draw with it ſufficient oppoſition to remoue the aſſiege, and to deliuer the places from all danger. It is alſo moſt perilous in contrary to the defence and fortification of any Towne (being vehemently beleaguered by force) to linger out in hope of ſuccours, vntill they come to the very centre of all extremitie; for then remedies and meanes of all ſortes are altogether fruitleſſe, and vnprofitable to people in ſuch a lamentable caſe, being inuiroined and neere oppreſſed with their enemies, when the poyſon hath already diſperſed it ſelfe through the heart veines. H

Bell. Inguſh.

In th'aſſiege of *Zama*, the Romanes vnder *Marius* (as *Saluſt* writeth) vſed this kinde of fight (wherein is viuely ſet forth the true manner of thoſe ancient Romanes in ſcaling of citieſ, or caſtles walles, and in defence of them) *Pars eminus glande aut lapidibus pugnare, alij ſuccedere, ac murum modo ſuffodere, modo ſcalis aggredi, cupere pralium manibus facere. Contra oppidani in proximos ſaxa voluere, ſudes, pilas: praeſerea picem & ſulphure ſadam miſtam ardenſi miſſere; pleroſque iaculis, ſormentis, rebusque manu emiſſis vulnerabant:* Some of them from farre fighting did throw from their engins bullets or gun-ſtones, others ſucceeded, and ſometimes vndermined the walles, and otherwhiles attempted to ſcale them with ladders, deſiring to haue them brought to battell at hand. In contrary thoſe that were within the towne, did throw ſtones vpon them that were neereſt within their reach; likewise they did caſt ſharpe ſtokes or billets, and darts; likewise balles of burning pitch, and torches dipped in brimſtone: diuers perſons they did wound and hurt with arrowes, engynes, and other things throne by ſtrength of arme. I

In the conqueſt and ſurpriſall of Kingdomes, Prouinces, Citieſ, or Caſtles, the true touch of a noble Generall is ſeen, in his prohibiting and cohibiting of all violence vſed agaĩſt women, puniſhing with death according to martial lawes, the rapes & conſtuprations of matrons and virgines, emblaſoning in his whole apport vpon the victory, with all heroycall humiliation & modeſty, that honor which ſo mightily magnified *Scipio Africanus* vpon his ſurpriſall of K

- A** of *Carthage*. For (hauing at the sacke thereof a captiue virgin of incomparable beautie, presented vnto him by certaine of his captaines which had taken her) he with most singular and gracious humanitie, preciouslly valuing and prising her honour as his owne, did not onely with great gifts and iewels which he bestowed vpon her, but without any blemish or assiege laid vnto her maiden-head gloriously dismitte her with a conuoy. Which that noble (though vnfortunate) Lord *Robert Deuereux* late Earle of Essex, Anno 1596. declared at Cadiz: where like a true *Scipio* both in valour and discipline, hee left the spoyle of that towne in speciall to his souldiers reseruing for himselfe as his owne share inualluable, a right renowned and infinite bruit of his victories, which vpon that felicitie like a cannon shot suddenly battered and made a breach in the rebated spirits of Spaine: the report of which noble peece was heard farre beyond the extremest confines of Christendome; insomuch that the Mahemitane Monarch hearing of that sudden braue, seconded the scoffe (which his Predecessor had darted at king *Philip* the second An. 1588.) with another harsh taunt more bitterly relished. By which meanes the fame of that noble warrior grew so great, that our Soueraigne (which had not beene knowne to diuers Potentates of this world) was by the bruit of his valour and victories made famous, and immortall also. I cannot sufficiently set downe what in my iudgement, and by the relation of very iust and wise men of his secrets I haue considered and conceiued of that noble warrior:
- C** Howbeit thus much as the least of my iust obsequies to so renoüed a Lord, he neuer was heard (that euer I could heare) to haue gloried or boasted of his victories, or fortunate seruices: but in all his actions ciuile or military did referre all with ioyfull humbleness and thank-giuing to God, and to the speciall wisdom and direction of his Prince, as a seruant and minister of theirs. And thus by specious declaration of his vertue in obedience, and of his modestie in speech, he still liued free from malice; and yet as a royall Deere alwayes pasturing within the golden pale of glorie. Howbeit (to his owne sodaine dissolution, and to the dolorous downefall and heauiness of his many friends which fell with him, and which lamented for him long after him) hee found it and left it which was by *Tacitus* written as a position infallible to be pondered amongst all ambitious and aspiring subiects or other great ones, which cannot set limits to their owne appetites, *Quam formidolosum sit priuari hominis gloriam supra principis attolli*: Which might be verified also by the example of *Dauid*, who (though protected by the great prouidence of God) being but a shepheard (as I touched in my second Booke) to raigne in Israel, yet was (notwithstanding all his vertues, and honour in marrying king *Saul* his daughter) in danger to loose his life, by many trecherous conspiracies and attempts of his vnthankfull father in law. But that I may speake somewhat of him according to true iudgement and indifferencie: because peraduenture some haue either maleuolently with exceeding bitternesse abused his honorable ashes contumeliously; and others percase which haue as blindly in the contrary sanctified him as one more then a man beyonde his deserts, and the measure of his nature: both which are most odious to the true taste of

all noble natures : I say thus much, which they (that wisely did know him) F
will acknowledge also. His minde was incomprehensible : by nature, a man
much addicted to pleasures, but much more to glorie. If he were at any time
luxurious (which some very impudently haue thrust vpon his dead coffin, a-
gainst all truth and modestie) it was very little, and that when hee was idle,
which was very sildome : howbeit neuer could any delicacies or corporall
comforts drawe him (since he was imployed in the publike counsels of his
Prince and countrey) to neglect any serious businesse. He was eloquent, and
well knew the guilefull trappes & insidious treacheries of this world, by good
experience and much reading. He was affable and soone any mans friend, G
that was either by friendes commended vnto him, or had any specious appa-
rance of good qualities in him. The loftinesse of his wit (as I may most pro-
perly terme it) was most quick, present and incredible : in dissembling with
counterfeit friends, and in concealing of any matter and businesse of impor-
tance, beyond expectation. He was bountifull, magnificent and liberall in all
the course of his life, hauing commended multitudes of people vnto liuings,
pensions, preferments, & great sums of money, as appeared both by the land
of his owne, which he sould and engaged to maintaine the same; and by the
large dispensation of his Soueraignes treasure committed to his trust and dis-
cretion. And which I may speake in truth most boldly, his fortune was al- H
wayes good before, as appeared in France and Cadiz; but much inferior to
his valorous industrie (which with the great and weightie hammer of his rea-
son and engine, did strike diuine beames and noble sparkes from the anuile of
glorie) vntill his late vnfortunate voyage in Anno 1597. and that his other
pestilent and inauspicious expedition for Ireland: before which times it was
difficult to be discerned, whether his valour or fortune were more. I my selfe
a Boy, haue seene him in the French-warres to communicate in sports and
sometimes in serious matters with men of meane condition and place, their
fortunes and parentage valued; to bee delighted and exercised in labouring
with the mattock in trenches, fosses, and in other workes amongst his battels; I
to be busied in setting of watches, in making of barricadoes at his quarter,
and in often walking the round. Also that vice (which contagious ambition
much affecteth) could neuer be noted in him; which was to detract from the
credite and good fame of any his fellowes in her Maiesties counsell, they be-
ing absent, or of any other man: only this it went neere him and laie heauie to
his heart, that any of them should be thought more wise or valiant then him-
selfe, being scarce a vice, but emulation rather proceeding from the mighti-
nesse of his spirit; and (without doubt) he did exceed many of them in ma-
ny things. By which means, euen as *Salust* describeth *Sylla*, so did he be-
come precious in presence of his souldiers. From his child-hood hee was
hardened with exercise, taking pleasure and some trauaile and labours which
other men for the most part would haue reputed miseries and calamities. K
His apprehension and prudence was admirable, by which he would and ma-
ny times did preuent and turne the mischiefes and fallacies of his enemies vp-
on their owne heads; he was circumspect in all matters appertaining his owne
office

- A** office and charge, and would not endure, if by any meanes, countell, or engine he could deuise, to leaue any safe euasions or munitions offensive or defensive with his enemies. And that which was most rare in so great a capitaine (though in discipline of warre, he declared himselfe seuer as was fit, meeke and honourable towards his captaines which had well deserued) neither did his mildnesse and facilitie withdraw from his reputation, nor his seueritie diminish the loue of his souldiers: onely this to conclude of him in the person of a Generall. The end of his life was much lamented by the better and nobler part of his countymen, it was very grieuous to them that were his friends and louers, it was pitied and repined against with a certaine kinde of regret by forrenners and strangers, which had heard of his valour, and those enemies or emulators rather of his heroicall vertues in Spaine and France, which had felt the weight of his valour, reioyced not vpon report of his death. I would if it had so pleased God, that he might haue died in the warres vpon the enemies of his country, that I might heroically with good cheere haue registred his death in these offices: to conclude with his discription of body briefly being the same, with that which *Tacitus* did write of *Iulius Agricola*: *decenior quam sublimior fuit, nihil metus in vultu, gratia oris supererat, bonum virum facile credideres, magnū libens*. He was tall and in authoritie, yet was he more comely then loftie: in his forehead and countenance much valour and boldnesse were imprinted and expressed, his lookes were very gratious; they that had
- C** iudiciously beheld him, would haue easily beleueed that he was a very good man, and would haue bene very glad to haue knowen him a mightie man: and that which was most rare and admirable in men of our age, in his distresse and calamities, his mind was not onely great and noble like his blood and and place, but much loftier and firmer, then in his most firme honours, and prosperitie. And so much in briebe, so neere as I could, haue I done to life, the morall qualities and perfections of that heroicall Generall without adulation or partialitie. Now because I would be short, I will speake somewhat of some other respects and obseruations required in the person of a Lieutenant Generall.
- D** First therefore let all conditions of peace or truce with any people besieging or besieged (if they be cleare from any suspition of concealed daunger, yeelding meanes of quiet without more perill of further expence in future) be generally liked and embraced: but if they breede any buds or tokens of the contrarie, let a wise capitaine or gouernour shew speciall circumspection, least a pernicious and bloodie warre lurke vnder such insidious and perfidious pretext of peace, and some pestilent poyson be ministred in steede of wholesome phisicke. In all wounds, extremities, and miseries he must repute of death
- E** as of the consummation of all calamities, and not as a vexation, that death dissolueth all mortall perturbations: otherwise there cannot any place be left for grieve or ioy. He must therefore to be short be partaker of prudence as I said before; because all aduantages in fight are attained thereby: for by that vertue, neither feare nor furie can dazell his vnderstanding. And therefore *Salomon* saith that in warre prudence is principally to bee required. And

Lih. 1. cap. 2. in fine.

In hist. Scholasti.

Vegetius, he that can shew many martiall scarres and vertuous markes of honour in his bodie, seemeth gracious and acceptable in sight of them that are truly noble. It is likewise written, that *Anipaser* of Idumæa which had served in a captaines place long, during the warres of king *Herods* father was accused of treason against th' emperours person, and being appealed before him to make answere, opened a loose garment (wherewith he was then arrayed) discovering the skarres of diuers grievous wounds receiued in and vpon his bodie with these speeches. I will not with verball excuses cleere my selfe great Emperour, but in steede of wordes let these wounds, whose mouthes are extant, and now closed, by signes declare my loue and alleageance towards you. Whereupon *Cesar* receiued him to grace, and would not any further proceeding against his honor: and without doubt there is no such glorie to the renowne of a souldier, as honorable skarres & archieuevements of many battels, according to that noble saying of *Marius*: *Non possum fidei causa imagines neque triumphos aut consulatus maiorum ostendere, ac si res postulat hastas, vexillum, phalaras, alia militaria dona, præterea cicatrices aduerso corpore. He sunt mea imagines, hæc mea nobilitas non hereditate relicta, ut illa illis, sed quæ ego plurimis meis laboribus & periculis quasui; doctus sum hostem ferire, præsidia agitare, nihil metuere præter turpem famam, hyemem & astatem iuxta pati, humi requiescere, eodem tempore inopiam & laborem tollerare: hijs ego præceptis milites hortabor; neque illos arctè colam, me opulentièr, neque gloriam meam laborem illorum faciam: hoc est utile, hoc ciuile imperium.* I cannot make true declaration of the images, triumphes and consulships of my progenitors: but if neede require I can bring forth launces, and ensignes, caparisons, and other martiall honours bestowed vpon me for my deserts in warre, and wounds which I receiued vpon my bodie in conflict with enemies. These are my images, this is my nobilitie not left by inheritance as other men haue had their honours; but these my dignities haue I with my many labours and perils sought & attained: I haue learned how to wound mine aduersarie, to raise Garrisons, to stand in feare of nothing but of bad report: to beare with patience, cold and heat alike, to sleepe and rest my wearie carcase vpon the ground, at one time to tollerate hunger, thirst, and labour: with these perils will I persuaue my souldiers; neither will I straiten them or see them euill intreated, when I haue plentie my selfe; neiwill I make their labours my glory: this is a profitable and ciuill Empire. And these obseruations by the pattern of noble *Marius* will hearten and encourage Generals and captaines vnto true discipline and vertues.

These and such qualities of the like heroicall nature made the Romanes victorious, inciting and pricking vp their souldiers to paines and valour. Neither would these renowned Romane Generals (as I haue partly noted elsewhere) oppresse or deale extremely with any people whom they conquered, but they did repute it to be their greatest maiesty to prohibit iniuries, and not to suffer any man by wicked meanes to dilate his Empire. Besides, for discipline (because it is one speciall thing which should be remembred) and I haue in diuers places mentioned the same, being a thing so necessary to be considered, that without it the fight or battels where euill instructed souldiers are

A is more like to *Larociny* then true warre. Horsmen in confused troupes without order or true direction of their Guydes & Cornets: foot-men intermingled with them not knowing how to draw themselves into rankes, and fyles, by due forme & order of bartell, but many times at vnawares wounding, slaughtering, and mayming one another, striking their enemies behind their backs, without honourable respect like brute beasts and sauages, and finally leauing themselves a spoyle and shame to their enemies, their children and posteritie slaues to forreners, their Countrey the inheritance of ambitious and vnfa-
B tiable vsurpers, besides a perpetuall record of shame in all Hystories insuing. How needfull therefore it is for Captaines to see their souldiers well armed, well practized in vse of Armes, and well disciplined, concerning their beha-
C iour in the warres, is most apparant, when after a field by such negligence and confusion lost, they shall see their virgins and daughters rauished and deflowred, their male-children captiued or murdered, some of them violently torne from the bosomes & imbracements of their parents, the mothers of children and of Families in presence of their owne husbands violently ex-
 posed and prostituted to the reasonlesse wills and lustes of the Conquerers, their Churches, holy things, houses, and treasures to bee spoyled and borne away before their eyes, murther and fire to rage euery where in their desolate townes and cities; lastly, no place of their countrey to be free from Armes, dead corpses, blood and lamentation euery where scattered. Which things
 being so certaine and well considered, how needfull it is to discipline, instruct and incourage souldiers in the loue and ready practise of armes and of true valour is most euident, and ought to be the principall care of all heroycall Captaines, which should neuer cease either meditating or practising to make their souldiers vnder their charge so perfect, resolute, obedient and valiant, as nothing may be thought to them on earth impregnable.

And albeit the fortune of war consisteth alwayes vpon difficult and vncertaine termes, yet most certaine it is that true valour mingled with absolute discipline in souldiers, maketh a tryumphant Monarchie. For what more excel-
D lent spectacle can there be to them that are Lordes and conquerors, through their good disposition and gouernment, then in the open fieldes to pursue their enemies in flight: to wound, slaughter, and captiuate them: to see their horses with the riders distressed? to see many of them which haue receiued wounds neither to find chirurgerie, nor meanes of escape: some of them desperately to resist, and presently to fall downe: lastly to see the whole Campe couered with weapons, armor, and dead bodies, and the ground dyed into purple with their enemies blood? All which noble objects and incouragements come onely by good discipline.

E But forso much as true fortitude, which is lincked in the golden armelet of other Morall vertues, and participateth with the rest is one and the noblest Counsellor, and executioner of all the worthie designs of a prudent General: I will therefore deliuer the members of that principle in moralitie.

Fortitude is an affection or habite of the minde, which vndergoing all honorable dangers, labours, and mischievous hazards considerately, represseth
 feare

feare and wrath: the corporall enemies of it are sicknesse and pouertie, men-
tall opposites, disgrace, iniurie, rebuke: it holdeth at defiance death, dolour and
feare. He therefore that is truly valiant sheweth himselfe to be more than a
man, as *Seneca* seemeth to witnesse.

*Seneca in
Herc. furem.*

*Quemcunque miserum videris hominem scias,
Quemcunque forsem videris miserum neges.*

Those that are vext with miseries are men:
They that are valiant feele no miseries.

The extreames of fortitude are temeritie and timerousnesse: rashnesse at-
tempteth perils inconsiderately, which without mature consultation and in a
blind force not respecting abilitie to performe rusheth into dangerous actions,
either through ignorance, pride, desperation, stupiditie, pusillanimitie, or
some foolish ambition of vaine glory, which mancipateth the minde: where-
as feare contrarily being vterly voyd of reason or counsell, will bee so-
dainly peirced with the terrible bruit and vnexpected noyse of any thing, vp-
on which true valor ought to giue charge; and folke of such a leaden temper
inclyning so much to the blinde loue of their owne liues, are not possessed of
that hardnesse of true mettall which should oppresse such brutish turpitude
and disgrace. *Horace* the Poet excellently counselleth in this case.

*Rebus angustis animosus atque
Fortis appare: sapienter idem
Contrahes venonimum secundo
Turgida vela:*

Let courage and true strength appeare in troubles: if in thy shippes sterne,
a stiffe gale blow prosperously skanten thy sailes. Herein prudence is fitly ioy-
ned with courage, restrayning men from inconsiderate attempts, least like
beasts they seeme to build more vpon a violent affection of minde, by pro-
fuse aduenture of their bodies, then accordeth with reason. There is a forti-
tude in men (as *Aristotle* defineth) depending vpon fortune, when peo-
ple become fearelesse through want of a due fore-sight and precaution of pe-
rils, which sort of persons are ignorantly valiant: some there are which armed
in the strength and goodnesse of their cause and conscience doe shew good
valour; certaine which heartened in a kinde of fortitude by their skill, and vse
in ready practise of weapons; others imboldened vnto valorous exploits in
hope of victorie, by their naturall strength and artificiall agilitie; many that
in regard of their often aduentures and escapes are hardened; but very valour
is seen in scornefull contempt of ineuitable death; and in the cheerefull em-
bracements of hazards and dangerous aduentures, without any feare in all
honorable causes surely grounded and preconculated.

Stoutnesse and magnanimitie which vndertaketh and endureth all difficul-
ties

*Lib. 3 ad Ni-
chrom.*

A ties with patience and perseuerance, being the substance and essence thereof, is incorporate to fortitude.

Stoutnesse is a stedfast confidence of minde, armed with assured trust and hope in great and honourable actions. Audaciousnes contrarieth it without consideration, iudgement, and respect of honestie, violently and rashly precipitating it selfe into perils: whereas stoutnesse attempted with reason, warie respect, great boldnesse and moderation of the minde being inseparably fastned vnto vertue nobly worketh in the turbulent seas of danger. Pusillanimitie which is a base dejection or rather desperation of the mind opposeth it, yet commonly pursuing temeritie, by the example of *Philip* late King of

B Spaine, which (amongst other his vnadvised attempts, wherin the salt of warie premeditation was forgotten) luculently, to Gods vnspeakable glorie did appeare in his militarie businesse vndertaken against this nation (as I touched before) immaturly leuying armes not being soundly resolved how that action of such difficult and weightie consequence should bee managed or finished, wholly leaning vpon the fickle wheele of fortune, immesurably mounting in the pompe of his victories had in other places before, and onely through want of knowledge how to guide the gorgeous bridles of his prosperous tryumphes: but when the certaine successe of his shattered fleet (which inwardly daunced before, threatning the Brittaines seas and shores, in foolish confidence of vndoubted conquest) had like a musket shaft peirced through his credulous eares to his trembling heart and late ambitious liuer, where it was deeply fixed; then as a weake and fraile woman impatiently throwing from him all royall and princely thoughts and courage, passionately did he teare off his owne beard, beating his forehead and breast impatiently, torturing himselfe with teares and lamentations in publike and priuat: vpon which his disperation, waxing fearelesse of any tokens or care in himselfe to conserue his owne Realms (which had so fouldly mist in seeking to master ours) made such apparance of his basenesse and viletie, playing the lowly part of a weake and feeble woman (which he provided for our diuine Soueraigne Lady) that wise men did very iudiciously consider vpon it by certaine circumstances, how *Queene Elizabeth* might in the terror of that overthrow which thundred in Spaine amongst the *Castillian* courages, haue easily with a small power subiected that nation thereupon.

C Magnanimitie being the greatnesse of a mind inuincible and mightie, the noble strength and stedfastnesse in execution of great and waightie matters, doth support and corroborate stoutnesse. Know therefore that heart to be noblest and most honourable in quest of all vertues, which is open, simple, without hypocrisie, graue, modest, repressing pride, meere great, forgetfull of iniuries done to it selfe, gentle, aiming at eternitie, contemning terrestrial benefits, readier to giue then to receiue, more studious of iust praise then profit. For this kind of nobilitie, contemneth that greatnesse which the profane vulgar admireth so much, conuersing in the restraint of all perturbations, in victorious resistance of all ambition, auarice, and fleshly desires; that it may with more constancie resist other calamities. This is scene in both prosperous

and aduerse chaunces when a man is not altered through either, but endureth constant and the same in all.

Haughtinesse aspiring from a stubborne and fastidious spirit, and heart swolne vp with the poyson of pride, which violently sauiheth humane reason, and base abiection being the vilenesse and filth of mind are dangerous out-lawes, transgressing beyond the borders of magnanimitie. From the fast marcheth braggerie, foolish boasting and ostentation which issueth from folke blinded in louing conceit and admiration of some worthinesse which they misconceiue in themselves; being a most ridiculous vice to be represented in enterlude by the person of *Thraso*, wholie repugnant to goodnesse and modestie, hatefull in the thoughts of all honest men, and acceptable to parasites G otely. The second being a foule abiection, and beastly downefall of mind eschewing labour, and neglecting matters of most moment, in feare of some griefe and care which accompanieth it, is altogether sopped and steeped in sluggishnesse: such brutish people faint and languish in the quest of honourable and important affaires as *Sardanapalus* and *Heliogabalus* did. Vnto these already mentioned, adde a desire of good fame; opposite to which is ambition, and neglect of honest report, or impudencie: but a moderate desire of honour which is placed betwixt ambition and the contempt of dignitie meere proceeding from a mind that aspireth to the reward of her vertues, is in my iudgement laudable and ambitious: if I dare make a maxim positiuely of that which *Aristotle* holdeth ambiguously for a paradox. But to conclude with this vertue magnanimitie, Philosophers thinke it to be the rule how to desire and seeke for honour by due desert, moderating and directing humane appetite in the acquisition of great and mightie matters: her sisters accompanying are humilitie, patience, magnificence, and mansuetude, which is a calme spirit interset betwixt wrath and indulgence: the meanes to restrain wrath and hatred are, not to be couetous of vengeance, seldome though sometimes vpon iust cause to be angry, to wrong and vex no man, for enuie dependeth vpon wrath. Securitie and licence of sinne followeth excessive indulgence: and I am perswaded that no man which is truly valiant, can truly be said enuious though most of them are emulous:

Patience which is a vertue, fencing and preparing a souldiers mind against all wounds inflicted in fight, teacheth a Generall, and all sorts of souldiers, how to strengthen, exercise, and encourage themselves in all commendable hardnesse & difficulties; as noble *Caro* of *Vtica* did in *Africke* instruct his souldiers, how to beare themselves amongst a swarme of mortall stings, & how to suffer heat, hunger, & thirst, sickenesse; for this vertue fenceth and prepareth his mind against all wounds inflicted in fight: and *Quintus Fabius* likewise whom I mentioned in my second booke. That Generall therefore which is verely valiant, will in the effusion and smoking current of his owne blood (that from him washeth away all spots of shame and deformities) fight most eagerly, considering that his most grace and highest commendation in conflict is to stand stedfast foote to foote, without giuing any ground, or turning his face away from the aduersarie, vnlesse good aduantages and opportunities require the

- A** the same. He likewise that can with most ingenious fortitude discover, a-
uoyd, and turne, the fallacies, engines, and mischiefs of his enemies vpon
their owne heads: and he seemably who being wounded, rewounded, and
surrounded vpon the face, will not shrink nor yeeld himselfe, but holding
a secret combat betwixt dolor and glory fight:th in blood, sweate, and dust
vnto the last spiracle of his life, not doubling his body, nor faintly staggering
vnder the weight of his enemies arme, neither touching the ground during
the combat with hands or knees. It is likewise honorably noted in the com-
battant that shall wound his foes vpon their heads, foreheads, or other nobler
members: which obseruations *Vegetius* specially requireth in the fanteries:
if therefore this be considered, *Victoriam animū gerant, quantoque sibi in praelio*
B *minus pepercissent tanto iustiores fore*: that they beare a valiant spirit, and that
they shall better and more safely defend their bodies and honours, by how
much more earnest and lesse sparing they be of themselves: then will this no-
ble vertue of patience and true fortitude, victoriously flourish in the hearts of
all good souldiers. This vertue doth (as *Cicero* defineth) consist in suffering
continuall and voluntarie toyle, and hardnesse vpon honest profitable termes,
which is a firme and constant toleration of humane affaires, when with a
mind and spirit vnbroken, we beare all calamities which may happen: this
long sufferance of griefe and trauaile must be grounded vpon some honest
cause: for if vnder the reuerend and demure robes thereof, hatred, wealth
C or honour, being riotous and ruffianlike companionous be concealed, then is
it not any branch of fortitude, but the extremitie thereof, importing a savage
and reasonlesse hardnesse. Patience consisteth in suffering iniuries, and in
cheerefull bearing all the crosses of fortune; herein is the Prouerbe compleat,
that *Patience is victorie*: for in repressing his owne affection, a man both sub-
dueth himselfe and his aduersarie; whereas in contrary being subiected and
made a vassall vnto the scourge of his owne appetites, he wilfully submitteth
himselfe to that brutish yoke, being prouoked by wrath and desire: onely
let vs neglect wrong, and it is easily vanquished leauing vengeance to the be-
nefit of time, and to the powerfull iudgement of the great iudge and a-
D venger. For according to blessed *Paul*, *In hauiing patience we doe the will of* Hebr. 10.
God, by which we receiue the promise of saluation. And *Salomon* that oracle of
wisedome, confirming it in a parable, or wise concealed sentence, saith, *That*
he which is slow to wrath, is better then the mightie man, and he that ruleth the mind Prou. 16.
exceedeth a conqueror of cities.
- Moreouer God himselfe, when he descended in a cloud to *Moses*, proclai-
med his mercie manifested in patience, when he cryed before his face. *The*
Lord, the Lord is strong, mercifull, and gracious, slow to anger, and full of goodnesse Exod. 34.
E *and truth, reseruing mercie for thousands; forgiving sinne and iniquitie.* And
thence is it that holy *Paul* calleth him *the God of patience and consolation*, which Rom. 15.
enfueth it, admonishing the *Thessalonians* in another place *so be patient to-* Chap. 5.
wards all sorts of men. Patience therefore being a principall member of for-
titude giueth vs a conquest and possession of our owne soules in peace, and
comfort: pouertie, exile, losse of parents, friends, children, sorow, reproch,

contempt, seruitude, grievous sicknesse, blindnesse with all the miserable defects and mischiefs of nature and fortune (if a man ponder that his life is by course of mortalitie full of vexation and heavinesse) are nothing; and therefore iust honor inuited him to combate or wrestle willingly with all calamities, that he may purchase a glorious and renowned victorie ouer them, rather then like a foolish coward wilfully to trust himselfe without courageous resistance into the iawes of ineuitable troubles, as by some dastardly mancipation of himselfe: that though he be broken by it, yet it may be said that he was not subdued, but as it were voluntarily sacrificed vnto it: for no man is said to feele griefe but he that complaineth of it. Then that in desperate causes as in respect of pouertie, disgrace, captiuitie, or in amorous passion, should kill or cast away themselues (for such persons *Aristotle* termeth effeminate) I cannot hold to be verely valiant; whereas it is the part of true valor to beare in equall ballance of minde mischiefe, and prosperitie; a sure token of cowardize and idlenesse also, to distrust, faint, or filthily to be deiected in troubles. Impacience (which is the softnesse of a minde echewing labour, and the tolleration of dolor) opposeth it: such as are afraid to take paines and to be grieued (thinking sorrowes vn sufferable, which patience teacheth vs to tolerate) are in this opposition: and such likewise as cannot beare honours and prosperitie with moderation (but become insolent without measure) are in as much fault or more. F
G
H

Perseuerance likewise is another branch of fortitude, being a constant, perpetuall, and considerate apprehension of reason conuersing in the former perfections, repressing their contraries, and yoking them to discretion: for without constancie & equabilitie (which is the geometricall proportion, from the centre to the iust circumference of fortitude) no man can be called truly valiant. Lenitie with a giddy disposition of humane affaires withstandeth it: this either through effeminacie doth vnaduisedly yeeld it selfe prisoner to troubles, and cannot indure the burthen of them; or with pertinacie (when reason ought to change it) doth arrogantly and contumaciously persist in a friuolous opinion: and so much for the morall knowledge of Chieftaines, fit for euery worthy souldior to learne and exercise. I

*Cas. lib. 8. com.
belli Gallic.
G. Bened. in rep.*

Corinth. 1.

*Lucas de Penna
in L. fortissimi
col. prim.*

Caesar extollet this noble gift of perseuerance in a souldior, whereas in contrary, the coward and he which forsaketh his colours is punished with death. Also mutuall loue and charitie should be dispersed amongst them, so that as they partake in paines and passion they should likewise perseuere, declaring themselues companions in consolation; according to the saying of blessed *Paul*. Militarie charitie dependeth vpon two speciall points; vpon the ayding and seconding of our fellow-souldiers in extremities, and vpon constant perseuerance in maintenance thereof, when truth and equitie stande with their quarrels. K

There be certaine of the liberall Sciences likewise most needfull, towards the knowledge of all martiall Gouvernours: namely, the studies of Arithmetick and Geometrie. The first intreateth of discreet numbers, and quantities very behoofull for a Captaine; and so requisite, as no merchants or treasurers of

A of Princes can in their places haue more vse of supputation then this required in a martiall Leader. It is that art which *Pithagoras* (more then all other Philosophers) wondered at so much, placing it in the minde of the mightiest God, when he fitted himselfe first to the structure of those miraculous and incomprehensible workes in the creation of heauen and earth: he did verily belecue and confirmed men in that his opinion; how all creatures were made of numbers, shewing many strange things by mysticall and hidden arts, which consisted vpon th'acrescence and decreescence of numbers. Our fathers thought that, onely man (all other creatures excepted) was capable of number, for that he was wisest of all. This art consisteth in conference of paritie with imparitie, in euen and odde, the numbers either equall or vnequall together, or equall by separation, also superfluous deminished and perfect. And so much least I be too tedious, seruing for the most present and perfect instruction of battels, by addition, subtraction, and diminution of souldiers for seuerall formes: how many drawne out of thus many rank's in fyle of a square battell of 2000. will by proportion fashion a crescent: how many superadded to that battell again wil make a Cilinder; euery battell answering to the most aduantage against his enemies battels, as they shal be skilfully formed and instructed vpon the sodaine for all aduantages. But hereof I spake somewhat in my second Booke; referring my selfe with the rest to *Livy, Caesar, Thucydides, Polibius, Plutarch, Euclides, Vegetius, Frontinus*, with such others as learnedly can explaine and discoure of these with sound iudgement, and better experience more at large.

C Geometrie likewise ordereth and proportioneth formes, bodyes, and their dimensions by discreet lines: out of lines, the superficies or outward faces; and from the these bodies which are called cubes. This art by measuring of heauen and earth, leaueth nothing vnsearched which humane reason can apprehend in that facultie: to this art are referred all linearie demonstrations, the coherence or knitting together of elements, whether triangular, quadrangular, multangular, or aspiring in pyramidicall fashion. Hence was it that the Egyptians did reuerence as diuine idols, the formes of Cubes and Circles, in their
D superstitious ceremonies performed to those profane gods *Osiris* and *Isis*. Moreouer *Plato* caused this inscription to be set vpon the gate of that Academie where he professed: that, *No man ignorant of Geometrie should enter therein*. And in all the best and ancientest Schooles of the Greekes and Romanes the nobler sort of youth and children after their first milke weare studiously taught in the science of Arithmeticke and Geometrie, by which the learned fathers of former ages did illustrate and giue light to all most difficult obscurities and hidden reasons of causes: for by considering how this art doth from
E a point or centre being indivisible, extend and draw forth lines circumferent, bowing, iacent, perpendiculer, oblique, and equall in angles; narrow, large, trilaterall, quadrilaterall, multilaterall, and in them equilaterall: right angles, blunt angles, sharpe angles, and such as extend more on one side then from another, with *Rhombus, Rhomboyes, Pyramides, Spheres*, and other strange formes in diuers analogies. They did finde how needfully this art ser-

ved in fit proportion of harmonic, for vniting, fashioning and ordering of all sorts of battels, squares, squadrons, wings, cornets and such like, as in rearing, deuising, working, measuring, digging and fashioning bulwarkes, engines, vnderminings, trenches, ditches: likewise for the rayling, leuelling and squaring of rampiers, raelings, casamates, and other necessarie plats and defences against enemies, with all sort of Instruments and engines appertaining warre which are infinite, being so behoofull for the knowledge of a Generall, as without it I doubt whether warre may bee called an art: for it equalleth such members as are like in proportion & harmonious consent with members vnlike, making a concord out of discordes. But least (I search too faire into the concealed treasure of hidden Phylosophy, wherein I might either vnhappily shoue some token of arrogancie, or rather of hieroglyphicall mysteries, and other rare apprehensions of sage Phylosophers, exceeding the precincts of my weake reason & capacitie, wronging some sciences of which I cannot skill) here will I set vp my rest vnder pardon: onely this (which many wise and will experienced souldiors, and others of sound wisdom approue) it should be required in a Generall to be so studious in these professions, that by much practise and paines he may deuise new formes of embattailing, fighting, escairmouching, strange kindes of curious retiring, and v unexpected meanes of distressing his enemies by noble stratagems newly stamped, & neuer heard of before. And albeit (according to *Clitarchus*) audacioufnesse is an excesse beyond the measure of humane strength and reason; yet he which prudently respecteth his owne ende, will vpon honorable grounds voluntarily pursue perils, as I said before.

If therefore the Generall would haue his souldiors ambitious of honour, and victorie, he must worke out their resolution, and with vertuous example in himselfe apparant encourage their actions. For if he will industriously consider, and declare his true force (which is in most high reputation fixed) he shall finde it very possible for him to infuse power sufficient to his soldiers, for performance of any reasonable action in their charge, working first confidence in them, which onely proceedeth from good militarie discipline: let him therefore with great grace and wisdom endeuour to make his name and honor, reuerende, and precious throughout his whole armies, which he shall purchase as (I say before) by mingling of charitie with discipline, as in taking care that he furbate not his footemen with long and grievous hard marches, forsomuch as warriors of best iudgement and experience haue alwayes esteemed them more seruiceable then the horse: which hath bene found as well amongst the battels of the Greekes and Romanes, as in ours of these later times in Christendome: for vpon vrgent causes it may bee that by fast troupes and marches or with long fight and escairmouches they may become wearie: whereupon it will be most conuenient to relieue them with the horses of those Caualliers that ride, the whiles they for their more ease in contrary refresh themselves with marching on foote in their places interchangeably as the Romanes *Ad lacum regillum*, did in their warres against the *Lacines*, and by that means attained victorie: for the footmen are apt and readie for

A for any strait or sinuous place into which their horses cannot haue passage: they can also stretch forth and straiten their ranckes, which vpon a necessitie they can breake againe, reducing themselues into forme and order forthwith as place and space shall serue them: whereas horsemen being once broken remaine long confused. And as there is a difference in comparison of men valiant and well disciplined with weak and faint hearted souldiers; so likewise fareth it amongst horses, some full of stomach and courage, others reastie, dull and stubborne: but the souldiers being all of them participant, or capable of reason may be brought into forme, and kept in order when horses cannot, for diuers inconueniences impending. Also cowards may ride vpon bold and seruicable horses: whereas men of valour vnhappy may bee mounted vpon iades: and this is dangerous: for by such meanes he which is well mounted, may draw backe in feare, and he which would aduance forth and declare some heroicall tokens of his princely spirit and courage cannot possibly stire vp courage in his iade: then which at such a time I would not wish a more heart-breaking plague to my valiant enemy. *Lucullus* with a small battell of foote ouerthrew 40000. horsemen of *Tigranes*; whereof diuers were cataphracts, which as me seemeth happened more by default of the beasts, then of the riders, though both miscarried: and yet want of skill and iudgement in the rider is the next fault (in my iudgement) to cowardice. The fauterics thereof being in principal place of seruice are to be cheerefully cherished and disciplined aboue others.

C There is also required in the Generall, one speciall point towards the corroboration of his souldiers hearts. First to shew religion in the obseruing and performing articles and promises: secondly that vpon the point of seruice he declare vnto his souldiers in honest and familiar wordes of comfort, the readiest and easiest meanes of victorie, wherein it behoueth him to conceale all impediments; or (if they be pregnant) then to extenuate them by some cheerefull and ingeniou excuse, which hath in it a strong taste of a true fortitude. These with some other heads, such as before and after are expressed (as occasion offereth) will generally renoune the Generall, and further the victorie.

D There are some souldiers which haue a vertuous boldnesse and ferocitie mixt with martiall instruction and seueritie, from which skill and perfection that fiercenesse and confidence in the souldier is vttered: the like was in those ancient Romane armies, when they by such auspicious meanes, came home vnder their victorious ensignes, alwayes loaden with rich spoyle & triumphs. There is another kind of extreame ferocitie brazed with boldnesse, void of all skilfull discipline in war, & such in that age of the Romane Monarchie *Cæsar* with *Tacitus* and *Linie* haue noted in the nature & battels of the Galls, being merely foolish and vnprofitable. The third sort is of those which are not possessed either of order, discipline, or authority; of that kinde are those Indians at this day, which answer in subiection to the King of Castille: for it were impossible that armies of such cattive condition (vnlesse their enemies turne face without cause) should euer beare away victorie.

This weakenesse in souldiers proceedeth from pusillanimitie, being a base abiection

abiection of the mind, or a foolish and faint defect of the will in trying from honourable courses and attempts; but of this I will speake more at large: intrating of militarie discipline, which specially proceeded from the prudence and true force of a Generall, and is peculiar to men, indeed subsisting and composed of reason intirely; by vertue whereof Lions and Elephants are tamed and fettered in the wildernesse, which bridled & abate the fierie stomaches of stubborn horses, which measureth the circumference of heauen and earth with their orbes. Such a force best becometh *Hercules*, and in this force are humane labours nourished. This teacheth a Generall what the state and condition of his enemies, and how to catch them: which *Epaminondas* the Thebane reputed the greatest honour in a captaine, by winning G prenotation of the deliberations, counsels and resolutions of aduersaries, and being most hard and difficult, requireth deepe iudgement with high wisdom in him that beareth it: and not of their counsels onely, but of their actions also which fathome deepe into the apprehension of reason; considering it did many times happen that in a battell which hath continued a great part of the night, the victor thought himselfe vanquished, and he that was defeated misdeemed that he was conquerour: whereupon counsels infused most pernicious to them that consulted, as it happened vnto *Brutus & Cassius* in the like case; these did not looke vnto the euent of their battell before it came to triall: for *Cassius* misconceiuing that *Brutus* had bene ouerthrowne, and H put to flight with his whole regiment (who then was vndoubtedly sure of victorie) desperately breached his breast vpon his owne sword. By the inestimable benefit of this reason, which deeply groundeth it selfe in knowledge and continuall search of hidden treasures, the Generall becommeth iust, skilfull and industrious: in it are rooted all his present resolutions which happen vpon extremities during the fight, and seasoned with that good fortune, with that prudent and quicke apprehension, which like the sudden flash of a lightning, not so quicke as diuine giueth a sweete fire to the true touch of his reason; when mature deliberations want space of admittance, and onely fortunate executions are importuned and instantly. I

From this florisheth out his diligence, patience, prudence, mildnesse, sternenesse, subtiltie, simplicitie, warinesse, promptnesse, liberalitie, with many more branches of true vertue springing together, out of that one most bountifull roote. This also teacheth him his knowledge concerning the instructions of battels of all fashions; for euen as stones, tiles, beames, and rafters of woode are by good order and disposition of the workeman, knit, confirmed and kept from putrifaction, in such case are armies. By this is he taught boldnesse against enemies, fauour towards friendes, and reason with counsell in opportunitie. This maketh a wise Captaine to meditate with *Philopoemon* K Prince of the *Achaens*, who did exercise himselfe in warlike practise, specially when nothing but peace was present and round about him. And this caused *Ephicrates* to raise a rampier composed with a vaste moate, when no danger or enemy could be feared, saying that it was a disgracefull thing in a Generall (when neede should suddenly require a defence) to say, these acci-

dents

A dents which are, were not premeditated.

But amongst all noble exercises in times peaceable (of most profit, pleasure, and honour, and seemely befitting a prince) the knowledge of places and countries is most requisite, which chiefly and most readily is got by practise of hunting: for in following of the wilde bore, the stagge, the foxe, the hare and such like beasts of game, certaine martiall accidents are resembled in many things, according as *Xenophon* in the life of *Cyrus* (at that time when hee should haue enied forces against the king of *Armenia*) describeth him, reasoning and arguing with his companions of that seruice which hee was to performe, and of all things accommodated thereunto; by resembling of them

B which take refuge vpon the mountaines, to those that pitched toyles & snares for wilde beastes, comparing them that eskairmouched vpon the plaines, with those which roused the game from their dennes or formes, driuing them vnto those nets, & with such like resemblance of that partie. Besides, that the perfect knowledge of countries, fennes, marshes, and riuers, for marching, incamping, wading, fortifying, imbattelling, and such like by such practise of hunting, shall be with sport and in short time attained: also the benefit happening to their bodies in confirming of their strength and health which vse it. For by this countries Topographie, a perfit knowledge and discretion (of the nature, condition and soyle of other countries) is attained with facilitie: for all regions haue some resemblance one of another. In such sort *Salust* (writing somewhat concerning the exercise which *Iugurth* did vse) commendeth him

C after a fashion for his exercise of hunting in these words, *Non se luxui neque inertia corrumpendū dedit sed (vni mos gentis illius est) equitare, iaculare, cursu cum aqualibus certare: & cum omnes gloria antecelleret omnibus tamen charus esse. Ad hoc pleraque tempora in venando agere, leonem atque alias feras primus aut imprimis ferire, plurimum facere, & minimum ipse de se loqui*: He did not giue himselfe ouer to be corrupted with lust or sluggishnesse, but as the fashion is of that countrie, to ride, to shoote, to runne in race with his equals, and albeit he did exceed all of them in glorie, yet every one of them did loue him.

D Moreouer he bestowed much time in hunting, he would be the first man or the surest man which gored, wounded, or paunched the Lion and other wild beasts: his fashion was to do very much, & to make small brags of it. In which generous exercise & recreation of hunting, your highnesse (soone after your first milke in the tenderesse of your gracious spring) industriously & to great good end delighted hauing proposed it as a recreation destined to most noble and heroicall purposes, when time and occasion should summon your mightinesse, to make specious demonstration thereof. And that care and wisdom is exceeding great, which answereth to the choosing of a General; as well for his reason, experience, and valour, as for his bodilie strength and agilitie: for that cause the people of Rome (hauing decied by the consent of the Senate, to moue warre against any Nation) made choise of their Generals and Dictators out of the prudentest Consuls: vnto whom they graunted a large Commission to deale in all causes (concerning the seruice in their trust) according to their sound discretions. And verely (whereas both the life and

honor of peace and warre resteth in his person) the wise iudgement of a Prince (as I thinke) cannot bee so certainly in substitution and deputation of any vicegerent or seruauant whatsoeuer, as in the prudent election of a Generall. For certainly those noble parts and perfections (which are needfully required in him) stand in more force and valour of all inferiour souldiers vnder him: as *Philip* great *Alexanders* father said, *That a battell of Lyons which were governed by a Stagge, could not be so good as an heast of staggess vnder the conduct of a Lyon*: for of Cowards (hauing able bodies) a gallant Generall may with some conuenient paines and good discipline make victorious warriours; as *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* did of the *Thebanes*, by whom they were enfranchised from the *Spartans*; and albeit in regard of their long flauerie some deemed them vnfit for militarie seruice, yet did these Captaines so labour in disciplining of them, as they did prone soone after able, and vanquishers ouer them, that so tyrannized ouer them before. In honour of which nation, and vpon their good successe it was written, how not onely the *Lacedemonians* but euen all other sorts of people would become gallant fellowes and victorious through good martiall instruction & practise, which ought to proceed at all times both in peace and warre. For men which are skilfull in the practise and exercise of Armes, will not stand in awe of their enemies, because no man feareth to doe that, wherein he knoweth himselfe skilfully practized.

12 cap. lib. de re
militari.

It is also common in nature, that in laudable qualities (especially where multitudes may be witnesses of their excellent readinesse and resolution) men loftily will performe the parts of their cunning with great hope, whereas the rude and vnexercised souldior is like a sheepe exposed to slaughter. Hence is it that *Vegetius* sayeth, that vse in warre auaieth more then strength and armour. The speciall companions of martiall discipline and vertue which administer honor and reputation to Captaines and souldiers, are labour in businesse, fortitude in perils, temperance in desires, industrie in doing, celeritie in dispatching, counsell in providing. The greatest benefit in a Generall towards the performance hercof is in time of peace, as sitting and preparing himselfe for warre when there is no danger, and in tempestuous times also, to seeme and beare himselfe vnto such souldiors (if wants and negligence require it) like an enemy when he disciplineth, and with his enemies in contrary to dissemble himselfe a friend. *Menander*, that he which is not experienced in militarie discipline hauing command of armies doth bring forth thousands of men for a sacrifice to their enemies: if therefore the souldiors bee negligent, idle, or vnexperienced in their seruice and vse of weapons, or in keeping of their ranks, marches, or formes, discipline is required with competent seueritie, as well towards inferior Captaines in their priuate transgressions, by cassifying them of their charge (which is to some noble spirits much more great disgrace, then the paine of death) driuing them to the priuate souldiors march on foote, vntill such time as they by their seruice and industrie (which they should very well know before they be chosen to gouerne) haue practised how to merite in a common soldiers place, the reputation of a captaine, recovering

Aing and reforming that losse and omission: and if they be slack in discipline towards their souldiors which serue vnder their colours and ensignes (when duetie bindeth that they should instruct) yet if it so happe that some of those Captaines, or others of greatest place in the field, haue in monitions and perswasions been milde and gentle before, and that such lenitie cannot prevaile: then is it not expedient that he growe seuerer vpon the sodaine, least his purpose of extremitie be discovered, and the stubborne heartes of his field-men become mutinous; but by little and little with wary gradation and vpon sure occasion conceale his purpose, vntill time bring to perfection his defence, before offence bee done: which is by conciliation of the more part out of the best, and those of the more conformable sort, so neere as may be found, or taken with courteous encouragement and wily familiaritie, winning some with benefits, & others with the right gyft of beneuolence & lenitie; pretending towards the benefited his great respect vnto their duties and diligence declared: which course (being well entred) openeth safely the secure path of seueritie concerning others: but let him beware in any case that he doe not neglect this; as in sodaine changing his mildnesse into seueritie, for it will indanger his confusion when he wanteth ayde and countenance of some their better fellows in his discipline to keepe them if occasion require. And in all his appoynt amongst the souldiers of his ensignes that austere kinde of facilitie should appeare in him: that like as of the noble Romane *Galba*, so speeches & Prouerbs may passe currat of him in those armies where he gouerneth

C *Disce milis are miles, Galba est, non Gerulicus*: which kinde of austeritie was no small honor to the noble *Anniball*, in exercising & instructing of his souldiers: whom *Livy* describeth the worthy patterne of a right renowned Generall, to this effect. *Anniball* serued vnder *Asdruball* in the warres three yeeres, and there liued not a man whom *Asdruball* so much desired, for his worth so beare command vnder him in marshall affaires, if any thing valorous & of force was to be put in execution: neither would the souldiers of his armies credite any man so soone, or shewe such excellent courage vnder any Captaine, as as his command. He was very bold in giuing charge vpon perils, very wise, and full of reaching consultation if he were distressed, in danger most patients and indefatigable, consemning paines and trauels, of courage vndaunted, carelesse of extreame heate or cold, temperate in diet, moderate in sleepe, vigilant and vsing his body so lodge hardly, many times hath he beene found laid vpon the cold ground couered with his mantle, which he did vsually weare amongst his watches and Centrenells, or at his corps du gard. In any seruice vpon horseback, or foot, he was the first that gaue charge, and last that left the field: yet as there are not any vertues of such excellencie but are accompaigned, with some vices, so was he possessed of some souldier-like faulrs. Thus farre in effect *Livy*, wherein behold the true description of a right carefull and noble Generall seruing for a copie to the best Captaines that euer did or shall succeed him. I will adde hereunto, because it is memorable one example of discipline in a Generall, which *Livy* likewise recordeth.

E

Titus Manlius being Consull, and Lieutenant Generall of the Romane forces against the Latines, when his owne sonne had aduanced forth (albe-

it vpon most honourable termes) in single duell to combat with a daring *Laetif*
tine, whom hee most valorously vanquished; vpon which combat the
 victories of either armies for safeguard of their souldiers liues were mutu-
 ally wagered; yet for breaking of his ranke to set forward to performe the
 challenge, and because he did not first aske leave of the Consull, contrarie to
 the prescribed ancient forme of the Romane discipline, in the presence of the
 noble armie caused his head exemplarily to be strooke off; a seuerer or violent
 reward of his honour: and *Decius* the other Consull according to the religi-
 ous custome of the Romanes in some extremities obserued, after the perfor-
 mance of certain ceremonies which may be read in *Livy*, did (by rushing alone
 on horsebacke at the full speede with all violence amongst the Latines a good
 space before the battels ioyned) voluntarily sacrifice himselfe to the infernals,
 for the whole armies safetie: the Latines were in such sort appalled; and his
 fellow souldiers encouraged at this his so confident and noble resolution, that
 they became lordes of the field thereupon: I will hereunto knit one other ex-
 ample,

Papyrius the Dictator gaue expresse commandement against *Fabius Rutilius*
 Generall of the Romane horse (who with good successe and great valour had
 encountred, and ouerthrowne diuers troupes of the enemies) to be beaten
 with rods; a strange and ignominious punishment worse then death, denoun-
 ced against so noble a souldier, onely because he tooke not aduise and direc-
 tion of the great magistrate, when, where, and in what sort to giue charge:
 howbeit *Rutilius* seeking to stop the shame of that punishment, by secret
 meanes escaped to Rome, whom the vehement dictator pursued in such furie;
 that (vntill not onely *Rutilius* had vpon both his knees besought pardon for
 the same, and that the whole Senate and people of Rome had inexorably
 mediated for him) the seuerer Dictator could not be mouued to repeale the
 sentence and execution, but would haue had his head cut off also.

Another kinde of discipline is seembly requisite against captaines and
 fellows in armes, which is for a certaine vaine stubbornnesse and proud emu-
 lation in them being very daungerous to the present state and seruice in hand:
 this ought with great care & seueritie to be searched and reformed, by the ex-
 ample of *Sergius* and *Verginius*, when they did assiege the Veyans; *Sergius*
 holding his quarter vpon one side of the citie, and *Verginius* vpon the other,
 it happened that *Sergius* (vpon some aduantage found) was suddenly char-
 ged by the Phaliscians, taking in high scoime, though his forces were much
 weaker to require aide of *Verginius*, hereupon being forced to flie with disgrace
 (though he inight with very good ease haue rescued and repaired his honor)
 yet would not *Verginius* succour him, vnlesse *Sergius* had first humbly required
 and sued vnto him for it, which fault few wise princes or Generals, but would
 haue punished with death: howbeit the Senate (which sustained the most
 losse) onely fined them with a pecuniary mulct, prudently foreseeing,
 that such as had armies in charge, ought to be enfranchised from all feare,
 and to draw the counsels of all their actions from the principals and heads of
 occasions.

A Having partly touched the discipline concerning capitaines and souldiers, it was requisite that I declared the formes of disposing, arraying and combattelling souldiers; but for so much as neither my knowledge in that art is so sure as I dare adventure vpon it, neither if I could, would it be needfull considering every priuate capitaines studies; and at that art, which I by mistaking though in a partticle, might worthily be reprehended of arrogant folly, I will herein forbear, only wishing a carefull ingenious and industrious practise of that skill in every priuate capitaine and able gentleman of honour, as well in times of peace as of warre: and because I haue heard it sometimes commended by certaine wise & expert souldiers, as the sure ground and true plant of all excellent combattaile, I will let downe according to *Liue* the true forme of the

B Romanee hostis as they were ordered for present fight, and diuided into battels. The first was composed of gallant Romanee youthes in space of rancks and files indifferently distant, and armed with pikes: the second battell equall and like the first, sauing that the spaces betwixt them in rancks and files were more large; these men were of ripe age and firme strength, whom they called principals: the third and last battell in the reare contained so many men as both the former, consisting of well approued veteranes and tried souldiers, whom they called *Triarij*; these likewise tooke larger space in rancks and files, then either the first or second, being so fashioned, that one battelle might for more strength and aduantage draw it selfe into another, when oddes or any necessitie did constrain, without disorder or confusion: to each of which three battels were assigned certaine cornets of horse, which like wings guarded the right and left flankes of each battell; onely the first battell of pikes standing nearer then the rest in ranckes and files (as our battels of forelorne hope at this day) were so perfectly taught and instructed, that they might the better endure the first brunt or charge when it should come to their turne for fight; the second battell of those principals and strong men which followed, being larger in space to receiue the pikes vpon occasion by retire, and the *Triarij* so large as would admit them both vpon necessitie to their ranckes without confusion: but when the *Triarij* haue both receiued the pikes and

C principals into their battels, then they forthwith close their ranckes and with most resolute and victorious courage endure and surcharge vpon their enemies in a terrible fashion: which finding a new battell stronger and more puissant then both the first (vniting them that were driuen backe) are frustrated of all hope and courage. And this in my iudgement must of necessitie be both sure and honourable, when the whole force is not ventured at the first, but hath meanes (if neede require) left for a succour when two charges are already passed.

E Now for asmuch as it behoueth to reason a little of martiall stratagems seruing for campe or any place fortified, I will take occasion in this place to discourse somewhat. Subtilties though in priuate actions they be detestable, yet are in militarie seruices very commendable, and commonly more worthied then open force is against enemies: howbeit fraud in the violation of faith or breach of conditions (amongst men in armes) is excepted. For these dishonesties

honesties, may percase augment Empire with assured losse of honour which is more precious. The subtilties of which I speake, are the substance of stratagems by subduing of professed enemies, and by diffidence had of their opposits: such (as for instance) *Anniball ad lacum Perusinum* vsed by turning face from the Romanes his enemies, that the Consull and his host by pursute, might be brought into places full of danger. And hereupon note by the way, that if thine aduersarie turne his backe towards you, pursue not in further heat and greedinesse of victorie, but rather according to the Prouerbe; *Make him a siluer bridge to be gone*: least being constrained to fight vpon necessitie they become desperate, of which there is infinite example of diuers being pursued after the fight, which haue vpon that example finished in much effusion of blood, and victorious conquest had of them that followed. Souldiors therefore should neither be too slowe nor hastie, but keepe a prudent moderation; which temperature will guide them to many fortunate aduantages and executions: least that be verified vpon them which *John Basilides* the Rusian Tyrant spake of the Moscouites and Polonians: that these were too forward, and those ouer backward, which hee by long experience found in his armies.

Another excellent example of lawfull stratagem in the Captaine *Annibal* to secure himselfe and his armies is recorded, by tying matches and firebrands to the hornes of cattell driuing them by night a contrary way, to misguide his enemies, that in the meane while he might prouide for the safe allodgement of his owne forces. The like commendable kinde of stratagem, *Cymon* a Captaine of the Athenians (which both *Plutarch*, and *Diodorus Siculus* record) put in practise, he perceiuing that the Persian fleet howered too and againe neere the Coast of Cyprus, with 250. ships of his Nauie, gaue fight to 340. of the aduerses; of which hee through his good successe and valour grappled 100. the rest being sore shattered and broken in fight recouered Cyprus, which glad of such harbor left their ships vnarmed, marching a certaine of leagues into the land a foote. Hereupon *Cymon* possessed himselfe of the whole remainder of the Persian fleet, furnishing diuers of those his enemies shippes with souldiors drawne out of his owne: and vpon the riuer *Enribas* where his enemies were incamped brought in the Nauie, his souldiors being attyred in Persian habit with sur-coates and turribants found aboard them: their enemies by this meanes mistaking the Athenians for their owne soldiers, & knowing the fleet, supposed them to be returned which had lately losed anchor from them before, & so with quietnes gaue them leaue to come in with their fleet into the Hauens mouth. *Cymon* therefore at the dead time of night, landing himselfe with his soldiers in that falsed habit, slewe them all which met him, and made spoyle of his enemies Tents; giuing to *Pheridas* the Persian Generall a mortall camisado, besides the losse of his and many more Persian liues, with a bloody destruction and hauocke of others; so that such error and horror was amongst the Persians in this dead darke season, that they knew not what nation it was which did inuade them. So terrible and so daime a charge went beyond their present reason. Likewise amongst the Atheni-

*Plut. in vita
Cymo.
Diodo: lib. 11.*

A Athenians with such another cunning advantage, *Clearchus* surpris'd *Bizantium*. Diuers martiall flights are recorded of *Pompeius* Captaine of the *Samnites*, *Porcius Caro*, *Miltiades*, *Themistocles*, and others (of which *Thucydides* and *Diodorus* make mention) but these shall suffice for copie.

There is yet another adiunct of wylinesse sometimes vsed in warre, which resteth in taking occasion vpon good aduantages to fight with confederates, and then the meane to worke it, is quarrelling or martially mouing against some other friend being with his confederate in confederacie; so that he must be forced in honesty to partake and breake truce with him that cunningly seeketh it, he giuing the first signall to Battell, or declare himselfe false or perfidious towards his friend and Client. Also there is a certaine oblique prudence (if a mā may so terme it) of another nature, yet not vnlike the former after the example of the *Campanians*; which (sithence their exceeding weaknes would not otherwise admit, but that they must necessarily fall into the danger of those enemies vpon whom they breathed defiance) presently put theselues into the protection of some mightie prince of more force, to defend them and their liberties; and this rule is generally certaine that such people (as stand in feare of oppression or tyranny, by some great Prince) will offer & send voluntary succors with any comfort to the best of their power, to some other more puissant prince, which may when good time shal serue collaterally protect and assist them in their extremities against all violence and oppression of others:

Cas may be read in the Romane Hystories of the *Masilians*, *Rhodians*, *Hiero* king of *Siracuse*, *Masiniſsa*, *Eumenes* with others, which had in the same case aided the Romanes in their warres. And as in our late English expeditions Anno 1596. and in Anno 1597. was sent vnto vs by the States of base Germanie vpon our taking of *Cales* accosting *Andalusia*; and towards that seruice intended but vnfortunately crossed, when our Generals after ominous beginnings reconducted vs to the Islands *Tercare*, where they made very small prooffe, and farre short in fathome of their expectation.

What I haue spoken here in particular respecting the office of a Lieutenant generall, may serue for other inferiour Captaines and Officers of warre also:

D Yet considering that it were seemblably behoofull for me to declare what the places of most reputation are in the field, according to the seruice of our English warres; the brute, and ioyous rebounding honour of which battels haue formerly sounded aloud from their drums & trumpets in the most flourishing parts of Christendome, I will briefly touch them so neere in the sequell as I can gather.

Next vnto the L. Lieutenant Generall, which absolutely representeth and vseth (for the time) the person and dignities of the Prince are these principall

E persons of honor, seruing as counsellors and assistants immediate and vnder his Excellencie.

The first place is assigned to the Lord Marischal; adioyning him the Coronell generall of foote, and he seconded with the Coronell generall of horse; ensuing them the Captaine or Coronell of euery Regiment or battell: after these the Campe-master, next him the master of the Ordinance: successiuely

The fourth Booke of Offices.

cessfully the Treasurer of the whole hoast; and lastly the Sergeant maior generall in field: these be principals and of counsell to the L. Lieutenant Generall.

There are Offices also deputing vnto the former, and some others which are not of such speciall reputation: as the Lieutenant to the Coronell of foote, Lieutenant of the Coronell of horse, the Prouost Marischall, the Muster-master generall, the Corporals of foote and horse, the Sergeants maiors of euery battell or Regiment, the Scout-master, the Trench-master, the forrage-master, the prouant-master, the capitaine of the carriages, & the capitaine of the Pyoners, most of which are in office and degree superior to priuate captaines of Companies.

The Lord high Marischalls office (vpon which the whole charge of an Armie dependeth) is very noble, and commonly taketh the second place of honor in the field: it importeth him therefore of necessitie to know through what manner of ground the whole armie must passe; if in Champion, how the wayes open for rancks in cōpanyes, or for battels, if in vallyes or lanes, how they be straitned for troupes and confused marches, hauing soundly considered of all meanes which may giue aduantage against the enemie, by marching, incamping, and disposing or ordering of his forces, noting with iudicious and well experienced obseruation all the disabilities which his enemies must haue in meeting with him; eskairmouching or giuing present charge vpon his armies, here, there, or in any place in his way with such meanes as may be deuised how to redresse and recouer them from all dangers and disadvantages of land, hill, or riuer in the way, making a safe and sure audite of the best & worst of all which can happen, prouiding remedies against dangers if they chaunce, and redinesse with expedition towards the imbracment of all fortunate occasions. In him likewise is required perfectly to know the extreme force of his Prince for the present, and likewise the power of his enemies, what hoise, what foote, what yong, what old instructed souldiers, what leaders of note, experience, and valour, comparing one with another, and working out to the best aduantage, the renoune of his Princes armies, he must also take notice of the strength which his enemies attaine by confederates, how much they make with the mercenaries, and auxiliaries of others: hee should consider and conferre by iudicious reading, the warres and battels of his Princes Progenitors and Predecessors, wherefore they were leuied, how performed and fought, vpon what conditions ordered, and the meanes mouing either partie to the taking or offering of those Articles, with such speciall instructions, as I partly noted before in the Lieutenant generall. When therefore he knoweth and is well instructed through what manner of ground the Armie must passe, then he presently giueth notice and warning to the Coronells of horse and foot, in what formes they should order their troupes and battels, for their more present and commodious passage; narrowly respecting that euery Commander doe with diligence respect his charge, without intermeddling further in matters beyond his office, or short of it.

Hee therefore causeth first in audience of the whole Armies a proclamation

The fourth Booke of Offices.

291

- A** clamoration to be made, aduertising what time the Lord Lieutenant Generall purposeth to march forward into the field, that they may futably be prepared: and the same day that his excellencie shall set forth, the Lord Marischals trumpet soundeth and giues warning of a remouall; after him all other trumpets follow, that vpon the third flourish, euery captaine, souldier, and seruant may be readie to performe their offices in each degree for that seruice. The scoutmaster therefore is first set forth to dispose of his scurriers for espiall, that he may for the armies more safety certifie, whether the countrey round about be cleare: after him the master of the Ordinance setteth forward with his Artillerie furnished of all needfull instructions, for the dispatch of any thing which resteth in his charge: after them the treasurer seconded with the prouuant master with victuall: and lastly the carriages which by directions of the captaine or master of them take their places in marching. When these offices are thus fitted, and that the Coronels and captaines by their directions haue out of troupes ordered their armies, then the Lord Marischall seeth the footmen march; vpon which there are guides attending to direct them in the sure and readiest way, which guides the Lord Marischall seeth provided; one to wait vpon the Lord Lieutenant, another vpon the Coronell of foot, another vpon the Coronell of horse: in like case seuerall guides for the master of the Ordinance, to point out the surest and most conuenient way for the conuayance of his Artillerie: for the master of the carriages one, for the Sergeant maior, and for the scoutmaster attending the auaunt curriers each of them one. This being orderly disposed, there are (by the Lord Marischals direction to the captaine of the pioners) a certaine number of labourers attending the Ordinance, which may mend the wayes for the better passage thereof. After this the Lord Marischall taketh with him certaine of his horse, and foote to view the ground where the forces should lodge or encampe. Likewise the Campemaster, the prouost Marischall, and harbinger with the foure quartermasters, when he shall come to the place, his foresight is what forage, water, and other needements for the armies are thereabouts: and (when this is seene into) the Campe-master, with the prouost marischall quarter out the
- D** ground according to the seuerall regiments, making the middle space within the quarters so large, that the regiments vpon a sudden allarme, may presently meet, and beset in array for the present seruice. The Marischall also noteth what number shall out of euery priuat companie walke the round, and keepe centrenell, with the places where they shall abide: he giueth watch word which the clerke of the watch doth write by his direction, deliuering to euery counsellor of the field, to the scout-master, and to euery priuate captaine a note thereof: if the L. Marischall see cause, he may change the watch-
- E** word at his pleasure. Hee declareth his opinion to the Lieutenant vpon any enterprife, what number of horse and foot are competent therefore, that they may be by the Coronels chosen out for the execution of any designe: the the Lord Lieutenant giuing direction who shall haue the generall charge of such seruice. All intelligence brought by the scurriers or pyoners taken in espiall or neere the campe, are first brought vnto the Lord high Marischall and by

him made knowen vnto the Lord Lieutenant : and (that the Lord Marischall A may be the readier found out) one of his pages beareth before him a corquer of his armes or deuise. It resteth in his iudgement, to determine of all prisoners taken ; which are forfeited forthwith vnto him, if they (that surpris them) do not presently present them to his Lordship, which likewise are punished at his discretion : the third part of all booties got, is his by right of that office. He likewise prouideth that the slaughters of beasts and other easements of the souldiers be not made to the annoyance of the Campe, seeing that euery souldier pay for his victuals that he taketh, looking that all such prisoners as are committed to the Marischallie be well vsed, punishing quarrellous or mutinous persons, theeuish souldiers, & treasons according to the lawes of armes G in that case provided: which are (by direction from him) faire written in articles, and fixed vpon the Marischalls gate, or on some other more conspicuous place in the campe or quarter, so that they may be generally published: From him proceed all proclamations by voyce of Herauld with a trumpet in the Lord Lieutenants name. He seeth the watches, as capitaines, rounders, centrenels, to stay their due times, vntill their drums or trumpets discharge their watches: he looketh that quietnesse and silence be kept in the campe, vpon setting of the great watch after the warning peece be discharged: through him are all honourable and dishonorable actions and exploits of persons (to H their immortall shame or good fame) recorded in perpetuall historie for example: he likewise (accompanied with the Coronels, Generall of horse, and foote, with the master of the Ordinance, and Sergeant maior) vieweth the ground, where most aduantage in their discreet iudgements may be found, for placing or abiding with their troupes on horse and foot, and for the most auailable planting of their Artillerie, with such cunning lures as may bring forward the enemies being neere to that place of aduantage. In time of battell he serueth on foot with the Sergeant maior: when the campe shall moue, his trumpet giueth the summons; by notice thereof all other trumpets soone after sound a flourish at the L. Lieutenants lodging to the discharge. He likewise towards the assieging of any cities or forts appointeth what strength of I men and munition, what numbers of horse & foot are required: for he taketh first a perfect view of the place and then prescribeth a forme how to plant the campe with most aduantage against it, setting downe where the trenches must be made; hauing acquainted first the Lord Lieutenant therewith. He directeth the campe-master in his forme and order of encamping, and what number of campes should bee made in euery quarter; instructing likewise the trench-master in the maner, breadth, and depth of his trenches, for the most safetie towards battery by night or otherwise: considering what flanks or buttresses may conueniently be taken away; and (if they be flanked) where K they may soonest and safest approach: what course best serueth (in case they cannot get entrance by plaine meanes) to distresse their flanks, by minings, or counterminings, if the ground will serue, if not so, then by scaladoes, or stratagems of strange & excellent deuise, with other meanes, which haue been, or may be done with most commendation, and securitie for such a purpose.

A *Beatus Rhenanus* thinketh that *Mariscallus* is called of *Marca*, an old word signifying a horse: *Budaus* calleth them *Marischals*, *quasi maiores*. Iudges sitting on horse-back. The office of Marischals according to *Vincencius Lupanus* is *De mag. Fran.*
castris locum eligere, ac milites in officio continere, in quos uir & necis potestatem habent: To choose a place for lodging of the Armie, to keepe the souldiers in order and office, ouer whose liues and deaths they haue power. The knowledge and persecution of militarie crymes; likewise the doome of punishment of out-lawes, and of such souldiors as without honest and lawfull leaue depart the Campe, and are not present at musters, and times limited vnto them; also the defaults of scoutes, escurriers, espials, traytors, fugitiues, watch breakers, such as forsake the spoyle, sacke, hauocke, with all actions personall of souldiors in priuate quarrels, are censured by the Marischal in our warres: *Vinc. Lupan.*
as in France by the Constable, who hath caryed before him a sword with a *de mag. Fran.*
point fashioned like a Lillie.

B The office of the Coronell generall on foote, disposeth his Armies by direction from the Lord Lieutenant into competent battels according to the grosse number: he directeth the Captaines in their charge, what, and how many long or short weapons in euery Band or Companie they should haue, in what forme & order the armies must march, which the sergeant maior (by direction from him) seeth performed. From him is a scroll sent to the gouernours of euery battell containing their seuerall charges: hee certifieth the remouals of Campes vnto them for the more readinesse of souldiers by the sound of drums or trumpets: all armies (being distributed into Regiments or Battels) are with their Coronels vnder his command. Vpon any seruice he ioyneth in directions with the L. Marischall in choise of the ground: and his place of seruice is in the midst of the battell with the L. Generall. Ouer all our English battels there are Gouernors appointed which are at command vnder the Coronell generall, or his Lieutenant. These Gouernours appoint euery captaine to send his Harbenger vnto the Campe-master, to take notice of the place and order of their quartering: or (if in Campe) of their Tent-pitching; declaring where, & how the souldiers should make Cabbines, fore-

C seeing withall that they doe not hastily nor confusedly come into their quarters, but take their places orderly and ciuilly, being directed by their Harbingers. His Lieutenant looketh to the Captaines of the watch, the Rounders, and the Centrenels, to fit themselves to their dueties, by direction from the Lord Marischall. If any foot-spiall be taken by them, him they bring to the L. Marischall, to the Coronell Generall, or to the L. Lieutenant himself. The Lieutenant Coronell (vpon seruice) taketh place in the vaward with the Sergeant maior. His speciall care (which bindeth him in the same termes with the

D L. Lieutenant generall) is to see, that his souldiers vnder his charge proue not effeminate, impatient of paines and perill, that they shew not more valour in words then weapons, that they spoyle not their owne fellows in Armes, that they leaue not themselves open for a prae to the enemy without discipline, order, gouernment, & modestie; that they set & keepe their watches like good souldiors after the course of warre, that they neither forsake, nor withdraw

themselues from their colours without leaue: that the stragglers, boyes, skuls, and slaues attempt not to march or intermingle the ranks, troupes, or battels confusedly by night, or day: that the souldiors waste not nor tread down the corne lands, and meadows, if they may be benefited thereby: that they be not suffered negligently to driue herds and flocks of cattell, and prisoners before them disorderly, but that they keepe in the reare with the cariages: that they doe not exchange them with merchants & victuallers of the campe for money, to buy bread and wine dayly: that they suffer no shame of sloath and luxurie to dishonor their Armies: these are the speciall means for euery Coronell generall to reforme bad souldiors. Likewise it is his office carefully to provide skilfull and painfull Chirurgions for his wounded souldiors and hurt men; to reward and giue honor to men of worth and desert in the waies, according to the custome of warre: after the field fought (by summons of his drumme maior) to assemble the remainder of his Armie, and therein open assembly with very good tearmes and cheerefull behauiour, to giue thanks and commendation to them that had fought the field, to exhort them that they beare themselues alwayes of a valiant spirit, well affected one towards another, and that the glorie of that dayes seruice should maintaine a continuall courage in them, for any battell whensoever oportunitie should require; that they should willingly receiue the spoyle of their enemies according to the discretion and direction of the Lord Lieutenant in all equalitie; and that he did onely looke for labour in steed of his reward.

The Coronell generall of horse, receiueth from the L. Lieutenant a roll of all the seruiceable horse in field. His office is to direct and distribute the Lances, light horses, Argoliers, pistoliers, carbiners, and such like into troupes ordered for battell; he signifieth to the Cornet of euery troupe when any remouall is, which after the flourish of Trumpets, auance forth to march when he commandeth, such of them as watch the first night, are first placed in Campe, or Quarter. It is in him to send forth auant curriers for aduertisement; hee placeth a strong troupe of horse in the reare of all the battels, to see there be not stragglers, or cariages left behinde for a prae to the enemies; and that those his Caualliers dismount not till the Campe be lodged or quartered. By consent of the L. Lieutenant hee setteth forth what number of the horse is fit vpon any present seruice: he seeth the scouters forth before night, the scurriers placed in the day time vpon the mountaines, and at night in the valleys for their better sight at all times: these in darke nights (if the winde be so great that they cannot either heare, or see) doe dismount, and making holes in the ground, listen if they can heare the beating of horse hooves, which (if any be neere) they shall soone perceiue, and vpon notice doe giue warning to the foote Centrenels, which with allarme giuen to the Campe, set all in readinesse. His Lieutenants office is to take care, how all such as are destined to watch, giue attendance vnto the L. Marischall, or to his prouost for directions. He seeth in the morning that no man leaue his watch vpon paine of death before the scurriers be returned to the Campe, & receiued their places. In time of battell he prouideth to answer troupe for troupe of the enemies, and

The fourth Booke of Offices.

205

A and to fit himselfe by proportion against them all, and if percase his power be to weake, then doth he succour his horses by wood, strait, hill, water, or neighbouring villages, for his more reliefe and refuge. He determineth what number shall giue charge vpon the enemie; where, and how many soldiers to place in time of need for their rescue. Euery Coronell doth (as he willesh) attend the Campe-master, for his quarter, and for decent and orderly comming thereto: his place is vpon seruice in front to the pikes of his chiefe battell.

The Campe-master receiueh a roule of the whole armys horse and foot: and by the L. Marischals consent prouideth & limiteth the Campe according to the multitude, deuiding the ground into so many regiments or battels of foot and horse, as is requisite, betwixt euery battell making a large street or space of 80. feet breadth at the least. He placeth euery Generall of each regiment according to his degree in the midst of his regiment; so that the porch of his tent may open into the place of assembly, euery captaine hauing his souldiers cabbines so seated and limited vpon the backside of his owne tent in little lanes and streets, not about eight foot breadth, and in forme of a citie; so that they may readily find recourse into the great street or place of assembly when allarmes are giuen. He deuiseh a great open court or spacious square within which the L. Lieutenants tent is pitched, with all his officers about him: vpon the right hand thereof the L. Marischal tent, the Coronell generall on the left, with other counsellors according to their degrees & places,

C all opening into the place of assembly; where the master of the ordinance with all his cariages and Artillerie remaineth. Neere to this there must a place of necessitie be intrenched forthwith for preseruacion of the powder, as well from danckenesse, as from all daunger of fire. Also the prouant and carriage-masters with all their victuals & cariages haue places there. Within the virge of the Campe, he doth appoint what ground of advantage shall serue for planting the Ordinance, and that all cariages which shall come in, may make their repaire to the precincts for the Campes defence; the precinct or virge of the Campe, being distended seuenscore foot at least from all tents and cabbines. He seeth vpon euery remoueall that such watches as must serue for

D that night be first placed for their ease, making themselues ready for the remoue, and in like sort all the horse. A spacious street of seuenscore foot at the least must deuide the horse quarter from the foot, through which their horses may with ease passe to watering and forrage. A place of assembly likewise (euen as in the foot quarter) should be made: there; that the troupes may with ease come forth vpon present seruice. He likewise appointeth what number of horses must attend euery foot battell according to their places, with other Gouverners. euen as the foote were, sauing that the small streets in their horse quarter: must be twentie foure foot wide at the least: the Coronell generall hauing chief place in the midst as before; & his tent opening semblably to the place of assembly. Neere him the Scoutmaster, next to the Coronell of horse; for so much as their offices require a reciprocall vicinitie; their cariages fencing or inclosing the Campe together with the footcarts as aforesaid: all the captains likewise with the Cornets of horse receiue their billets or places of

the Campe-master, as the foote capitaines doe; the Campe-master himselfe is **F** to be lodged neere the Lord Leiuenant amongst the counsellors; besides him the quarter-masters or harbingers of the field: annex to the L. Marischall his prouost, with the prison of Marischall-sea; betwixt which and the Marischalls tent, the prouost is placed. At all assizes the Campe-master accompanieth the Lord Marischall to view the ground, that they may know thereby to distribute it into competent Campes & quarters accordingly, with the certaine number of souldiers apporioned, and destined to their places in euery Campe: the greatest number enuironeth the L. Leiuenant, where the place of assembly should be so large, that (vpon allarme giuen) the whole forces may reunite in present forme of battell, being well instructed and readie: he **G** likewise provideth that euery Campe be well entrenched, sauing where the entries of euery street are, seruing for issue to & fro. And so much because it is one speciall place of seruice in the field, haue I spoken at large of the Campe-master: I will be brieue in the rest for so much as they depend for the most part vpon the former.

The master of the Ordinance (after his charge receiued) must be provided of all necessaries thereunto: first vnder him in office are a Leiuenant of the Artillerie, certaine Clerks, a Master groome and his Mate, all of them in pay, with all sorts of artificers needfull, as Cannoniers for great Ordinance, seru- **H**itors and labourers only for the Cannon, Armorers, Sawyers, Smithes, Pistol-menders, & of other peeces, Enginers, Cutlers, Carpenters, Collemakers Wheelwrights, Basketters, Coopers: the munition appertaining his office are Lances, Halberts, Partisanes, Billes, Dagges, Pistols, and Pistollers, Corselets with their Burganets, and Pikes, Armonish for horsemen, Lighthorsemens staues, Muskets with their rests, and Bandaleirs, Harquebusies furnished, and also for other necessaries belonging Ordinance, as Serpentine & cornepowder for the Cannon, and other shot of all sorts and quantities, Scaling ladders and bridges, match and plate for ladles, platesheers, gabions for defence of the Cannoniers, okeham, and haire, hatchets, and hedgebilles, forges for smithes, **I** with their implements, hammers, iron and Steele, leade for small shot, moulds, stufte for cartages and fireworkes, priming powder, with pinnes, rests, wormes, wyers, ramming staues, ladles, flasks, squares, rules, and other Geometricall instruments for planting, leuying, and leuelling of the Cannon.

It is not to be thought that the Romanes could haue so boldly borne away many victories, with dayly triumph, if the deuise of Cannon and gunpowder had beene knowne vnto them: for these be grieuous and almost daftardish impediments to mens valours, which onely by violence of those ensignes are taken away before they can haue space and opportunitie, to make noble account of their heroycall vertues; which example hath been and is so general and common, as that it need not be specified. The best vse of them is for **K** offence, as at the batteries of townes, castels, sconces, bulwarks and such like; for they will beat downe the grossest walles, staunching the ditches, and moats vnder them with grauell and rubbish: but to bring them for battell into field (vnlesse your battels be strong and very well instructed) is thought by diuers

A uers wife Capitaines, vaine, and difficult at execution: by good example of the Swizzers, which about 88. yeares since in a battell against the French neere *Nauarre*, in a very sodaine and stiffe resolution charged them in the fierie mouthes of their ordinance, being very many principall peeces of brasse; driuing thē from their Tents & munition, which they recouering became Lords of that dayes seruice also. Such artillery must of force be well armed, either with walles, rampiers, gabions, and such like defences, least a resolute enemy seaze vpon them. Some say that the brassen artillery was knowne and inuented many ages since, which *Vincensius Lupanus* citeth out of *Robertus Vulsurius*: but more certaine it is that a chiuistlicall Monck deuised the same in Germanie. The Venetians were said to haue the first vse of them in their warres against the Genoueses *Anno. 1380.* To which peeces of Ordinance, diuers names of birds and serpents were giuen; as *Faulcons, Sacars, Muskess, Hawkes, Basalisks, Crocodiles, Salamanders, Lizards, &c.*

B The Treasurers office in Campe being so well knowne (as at home) needeth not to be stood vpon; onely this he keepeth a muster-booke of the princes forces, pensions, and allowances, distributing to the seuerall offices and places in the field according to their stipends which execute them; which I sayd in the peaceable Treasurer before, must be well husbanded and stored; so that the souldior in seruice (whether hee prae vpon his enemies spoiles or not) be not wanting of his wages, nor pray payment at the Treasurer for which he serueth, being so deerly bought with continuall hazard of life, which he so nobly doth aduenture. The Generall likewise (respecting his princes honor) should satisfie himselfe with a little, that he may gratifie, reward, and ayde the iust souldier in more. And hence happeneth it that the Prince militant shall haue great occasion to moue his people in the common cause: for the reason well reacheth, that such as in peace till their grounds at home, should for the preferuation thereof, and of their owne wiues, liues, and children sleeping at ease, contribute to their noble and true hearted countrey-men; whose able mindes and bodies are vigilantly deuowed, and piacularly sacrificed for their generall safeties in the field.

C Concerning the Sergeant maior of the whole armie, who disposeth according to the directions of the Lord Marischall and Coronell generall, all the formes of instructing, and marching of the battels, it weare altogether superfluous, and might rather increase tautologies, then profit the Reader. And these aboue recited offices are all of counsell with the L. Leutenant generall, all the rest being inferior, and by deputation subiect to them.

D In the watch-Captaines, scouts, escurriers, rounders, and centrenels; likewise in all sorts of priuate souldiors and militarie Commanders, vigilancie is principally needfull. How many surprisals of townes, castles, peeces, houses, how many camisadoes in Campes, sodaine eskairmouches, violent and bloody fallies and tryumphs haue been shewed; to the continuall shame of negligent and slouthfull souldiors. And therefore it is a parable or similitude from the spirit of God deliuered in the Gospel, *Vigilate & estote parati; ignoratis enim quem subitaneus eris furis: aduentus* For enemies may fitly be resembled vnto theeuers

theeues, which by wilie meanes and hidden stratagemmes against all othes, F
treagues, and promises, will many times infringe and violate their faith and
honesties: as *Macrobins* capitaine of the Carthagenians vsed the Affirians his
enemies, whom (being drunke with wine, and mandragoras) he most insi-
diously slaughtered: for had not that aduantage encountred them, it would
haue bene very doubtfull of the victorie. And therefore as it is the capitaines
dutie to direct and vigilantly to looke vnto the charge of his watches; so doth
the soldier shew no lesse honour in carefull obedience for his owne securitie,
next after the state of his prince and countrey; which (if the capitaines doe
neglect) ought to be with due seueritie punished in them. We read that
Moyse (who was a carefull warrior against the Egyptians) did send out scouts, G
centrenels, and escuriers: and that *Iosua* that diuine and triumphant capitaine
(purposing the destruction of Ierico) sent espials which were lodged in *Rha-*
habs house. When *Saul* had pitched in Hachilah before Ieshimon, *Dauid* sent
espials out of the wildernesse, which brought tidings of his approach.

Iosua: chap. 20.

Sam. I. chap. 26.

*Lib. 4. bel.
randal.*

There is a kind of souldiers which are chiefe men of the nobler sort vsed
amongst the Frenchmen, which in that Realme are by common and ancient
custome in time of speciall seruice, to maintaine themselves, and seruants in
those warres three moneths; the Frenchmen call them *Banne*, and *Retrobanne*.
Which as *Procopius* saith, *Romani bannum, signum dixerunt. & bandoferum, ducis* H
belli signum ferentem: the Romanes did call this word *bannum*, that which
we call ensigne, and *Bandoferus* him which beareth the capitaines ensigne:
& from thence should seeme that anciently the name of ensignes were called
banners; wherein certaine emblemes and armorie of the noble leaders and
captaines were knowen and distinguished from others: also when any pub-
like edict was diuulged or proclaimed it was called *Bannire*, & in *bannum*
soluere, which signifieth as much, as to set it to the view and knowledge of the
whole hoast. Likewise the creation of knights according to their deserts af-
ter the warres, being many and of diuers orders, I will not insist vpon because
they be so well known. The creation of knights, bannerets (which is vnder the
princes standard, being displayed) is the most honorable knighthood in the
field: for they be called *equites redubitati*, twise knighted, for their martiall pro-
wesse: & such as in honor of warre, and for their noble atchievements by mili-
tarie worthinesse, attaine knighthoods of collers, such as the *Cheualliers sans*
reproch, deuised by *Lewis* the eleuenth at *Ambois* 1469. of the first Institution
being thirtie sixe Nobles of the Realme, and since more according to the
Kings pleasure, and such Noble men his friendes of other nations, as for
their valour in seruing him in his warres are invested to that honor at this day:
Likewise the order of *Saint George*, instituted by King *Edward* the third: the
ceremonies whereof being so well knowne and celebrated at *Windsor*, I let
K
passe with that Order of the golden Fleece, which *Philip* Duke of Burgun-
die instituted at *Dijoun* in France; which King *Philip* of Spaine and the Em-
peror *Randolph*, by right of the Emperor *Charles* the fift (whose mother was
heire of that Dutchie) at this day retaine, as their order of honorable Knight-
hood: and all these noble Orders with diuers of like fashion first deuised as a
reward

A reward and meed of their militarie vertues: and in that respect, the Romanes did bestow vpon their worthiest captaines and militarie commanders, horse and furniture, with rich apparitions, bracelets, chaines, girdles, and crownes of pure gold, lances, with other warlike habiliments, and armorie: such as *Cicinius Dentatus* receiued of the for his fortitude shewed in their warres, which were golden spurres and a sword, with the kings personall embraide, as our knights of honour are created at this day. The most famous and best renowned souldiers, that in our times haue bene noted, were *Ambrose Dudley* the old Earle of Warwike, *Thomas Rascliffe* Earle of Suffex, the three brethren of that honourable race of *Ricor*, the two noble and vnfortunate Earles of Essex, both deceased, the father and sonne, the Lord Willoughbie late Gouvernour of Barwicke, Sir *Roger Williams*, Sir *Philip Sydney*, who singeth in heauen crowned both with martiall and ciuill girlands, Sir *Thomas Morgan*: but there haue bene so manie, and yet are of gallant heroicall spirits alieue amongst vs; that it were infinite to reckon, and would rather bring one into suspition of that fault (for which I detest to conuerse in the houses of great princes) then any waye answer to the worthinesse, of them whom I commemorate.

And heere least I might vnhappilie seeme too curious or tedious, will I knit vp my labours, satisfying my selfe with a little taste of some principles in euery counsell: forasmuch as (if I should write all that ought in these discourses to be set downe) it would be both infinite in regard of the matter, and needelesse if your Grace respect the learned writings of others: not crauing more then beneuolence for my voluntarie liberalitie, which is the best treasure that a double poverie proceeding from my single fortunes inward, and exterior affordeth. From the profane multitude full of error and confusion (whose opinions distand from verities so farre as England (according to *Ptolemies* tables) is diuided from the Indies) I will appeale by protestation: that, they which leane vpon vaine hope and idle counsels, which threaten and disdaine sea-stormes, slouthfully wallowing in their warme beddes at land, and which in tempestuous times are immeasurably blasted with ignominious feare and pusillanimitie may not bee taken for equall iudges of my studies. How meane my matter is, how naked my sentences, how little my trauels, how bare my knowledge, I must acknowledge, that I know; neither is it written in arrogancie; and it is well spoken, *that nothing can be spoken, which hath not bene first spoken*: and I will pray that my studies (being published) may not be forespoken with inuenedomed tongues, swolne too great for their mouthes; but to them that are iust and truly noble, I will simply submit them, such as they bee with all modesty, heartily loathing (as I still professe) without and within, all ostentation and hypocrisie.

All Glorie be to the blessed seede of all, in all im-
 mortall perfection of incomprehensible goodnesse, ever-
 lastingly raigning in that vnconceiueable power of sal-
 uation by miraculous faith inanimate, in the
 true charitable roote of the ineffable Tri-
 nitie, mystically reueiled in om-
 nipotent unitie.

FINIS.

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